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THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE
MUSEUM AT CHESTERS

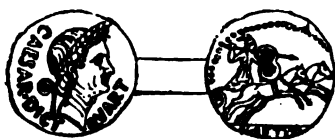
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AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
PRESERVED IN THE
MUSEUM AT CHESTERS
NORTHUMBERLAND

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A SERIES OF CHAPTERS DESCRIBING THE EXCAVATIONS
MADE BY THE LATE JOHN CLAYTON, ESQUIRE, F.S.A.,
AT CILURNUM, PROCOLITIA, BORCOVICUS, AND
OTHER SITES ON THE ROMAN WALL

WITH ONE HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS AND A SKETCH MAP OF THE ROMAN WALL

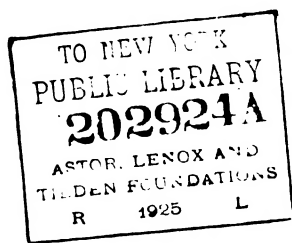


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PREFACE

THE object of the following pages is to give an account of the excavations which were carried out by the late Mr. John Clayton, F.S.A., Lond., and Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, at the Stations on the Roman Wall which were situated on his property in the county of Northumberland, between the years 1840 and 1890, and to describe briefly the various inscribed altars and stelae, sculptures, centurial stones, and the smaller objects which were unearthed in the course of his excavations and are now preserved in the Museum at Chesters.

Until his death, on July 14th, 1890, the Roman antiquities which he rescued from oblivion and decay, and which were removed by him to Chesters, were displayed in the colonnade of his house, and in the house itself, and in the small, round "Antiquity House" in the grounds. After his death, his nephew and successor, Mr. Nathaniel George Clayton, found that the altars and other antiquities had suffered greatly from the inclemency of the northern winters, and that their surfaces were disintegrating, and that the precious inscriptions upon them were perishing in consequence of their exposure to cold and heat, rain and snow; he therefore determined to build on his estate a Museum, in which the important collection of antiquities which his uncle had made might be arranged and classified according to site, and properly cared for. This work was undertaken forthwith, but on

September 5th, 1895, before its completion, Mr. Nathaniel George Clayton died. Shortly after his death the antiquities were removed into the building where they now are, and his son and successor, Mr. John Bertram Clayton, took steps to complete the work of classification and arrangement. With this object in view he employed Mr. H. R. Hall of the British Museum to make a Hand List of the antiquities in the Museum at Chesters, and of this one copy only was reproduced in typewriting. On April 8th, 1900, Mr. John Bertram Clayton died, and once again the work of classifying and arranging the antiquities came to a standstill. Mrs. Nathaniel George Clayton now became the owner of Chesters, and in the summer of the same year she consulted me about the numbering, mounting, labelling, and exhibition of the antiquities, and asked me to undertake the work, and to write a short account of the archaeological labours of the late Mr. John Clayton and of the objects collected by him. This I undertook to do, and preparations for the mounting of the whole of the large stone objects in the Clayton Collection were at once made. It was, indeed, very important that the facts connected with Mr. Clayton's excavations, and the circumstances under which his discoveries were made, for at that time they were known to William Tailford¹ only, should be placed on record as soon as possible. This faithful servant, who is nearly 72 years of age, has for more than 40 years been employed by the Clayton family in making excavations on the various sites on those portions of the Roman Wall which lie on the Chesters property, and has with his own hands taken from their hiding-places many of the finest objects now in the Chesters Museum.

The work done in connexion with the mounting and arrangement of the Clayton Collection may be briefly described:—Running numbers have been given to the three thousand five hundred objects which are enumerated in Mr. H. R. Hall's Hand List for purposes of identifi-

¹ He was born on the 8th of December, 1830.

cation and custody (as well as to the hundreds of miscellaneous antiquities which are not included therein), and every object, whether large or small, which could be so treated without injuring it, has been securely mounted. All the sculptures, inscribed stelae, centurial stones, etc., have been mounted on stone plinths, and labelled, and grouped (so far as the structure of the Museum would permit), according to the sites where they were found, on the stone benches and shelves which run along the walls and two of the corners, and the walls of the porch of the building. All the smaller objects, i.e., vessels, and fragments of vessels made of Samian ware, miscellaneous vases, fragments of glass, iron tools, weapons and implements, bronze fibulae, bosses for military equipment and harness, etc., have, so far as it is possible, been grouped, according to the sites where they were found, in the table-cases which occupy the floor of the Museum.

In the earlier portion of this book will be found a series of Chapters which will supply the general reader with a sketch of the antiquarian labours of the late Mr. John Clayton, and lists of his archaeological papers and short accounts of the excavations which he carried out on various sites on the Roman Wall; to these have been added a list of the papers written by various authorities which bear upon objects in the Clayton Collection, and a list of the works of writers, both ancient and modern, who have discussed and described the Roman Wall. In writing the sections on the excavations I have drawn largely upon Mr. Clayton's papers, and have generally quoted his own descriptions and remarks *verbatim*. The notices of Mr. Clayton's excavations are illustrated by a considerable number of half-tone reproductions of the principal objects in the Clayton Collection, which have been specially prepared for the purpose.

For the convenience of the reader who may wish to inquire into the general history of Roman Barriers in Britain, a somewhat lengthy Chapter has been compiled on the occupation of our country by the Romans, and a

series of extracts have been given from the works of classical writers, with English translations, which will supply him with all the literary evidence possessed by us as to the builder of the Roman Wall; but neither the literary evidence nor the available archaeological information seems to the present writer to be sufficient to justify the views either of those who unhesitatingly ascribe the Wall to Hadrian or of those who declare that it was built by Severus. In view of what has been written on the subject during the last few years, it is futile to say that the Vallum and the Stone Wall were made by the orders of one Emperor, and that both of these great Barriers, with the stone-built Stations, and mile-castles, and turrets, were component parts of one great system of fortification, which was constructed under one reign. Whether we regard the Vallum as an early British or Roman boundary, or as a military work or fortification, or as a road, matters comparatively little, because it is extremely doubtful if sufficient evidence will ever be available to decide the question; it is, however, probable that the Vallum is older than the reign of Hadrian. It has been the fashion for years past to assert that Hadrian built both the Vallum and the Stone Wall, but to do this is to contradict the evidence of a strong body of classical writers, and the traditions reported by the historians and chronographers of Britain, who are far more likely to have possessed accurate information on the subject than ourselves. The only true answer which can at present be returned to the question, "Who built the Roman Wall?" is "We do not know," and it is useless to pretend that it can be otherwise. Being fully persuaded that such is the case, the writer is not concerned in supporting any special theory or hypothesis concerning the Vallum or Great Wall, but it is time to consider with fairness and candour the opinion of the Rev. William Greenwell, D.C.L., F.R.S., on the subject (see page 265), and the serious indictment of Dr. Bruce's Hadrianic theory which was published by Mr. J. R. Boyle in the *Archaeological Review* (vol. iv.,

pp. 81 ff. and 153 ff.) Moreover, the fact that Dr. Hodgkin espouses no theory and contents himself with making statements of facts, should induce the supporter of the Hadrianic theory to examine anew the foundations upon which it is alleged to rest. And, indeed, all the difficult problems which exist in connexion with the Wall and Vallum can never be solved by the archaeologist alone, for several of them can only be satisfactorily dealt with by the military engineer who has knowledge of the systems of fortifications employed by the Romans, and by the professional excavator. Under the advice of experts sections should be cut at certain places in the Vallum, and the various layers of earth in such cuttings should be examined and duly reported upon by those whose business it is to understand the appearance of earth which has never been "moved," or which has been "made" and "remade." Systematic excavations should, of course, be carried on at the same time on the Stations of the Wall itself, but whether the results would be commensurate with the expenditure necessary, may well be doubted.

In drawing up the introductory sections and the Catalogue of the Chesters Collection, I have made the fullest possible use of the works of Camden and Horsley, and especially of the "History of Northumberland," by the Rev. John Hodgson, whose work is a veritable mine of information on all matters connected with the Roman Wall so far as they were known in 1840, the year of the publication of the last volume which he was able to produce. The various well-known works on the Roman Wall by the late Dr. Bruce, the "Lapidarium Septentrionale" by the same writer, and the section in the seventh volume of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," by Professor Hübner on the inscriptions found on the line of the Roman Wall, have supplied many details of later linguistic researches, which are of special value as representing the collective opinions of Dr. Bruce, Professor Hübner, and Mr. John Clayton. The papers

of Mr. Haverfield have been drawn upon for information about the investigations which he has made by means of the spade at various sites on the Roman Wall, and about the turf wall of which he has found remains at Chesters. For all questions concerning topography I have relied upon the valuable "Memoir" which the late Mr. MacLauchlan compiled to accompany his survey of the Great Wall.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON,

November 11th, 1902.

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THE ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM AT CHESTERS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ANTIQUARIAN LABOURS OF JOHN CLAYTON

FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF
ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

JOHN CLAYTON, third son of Nathaniel Clayton and Dorothy his wife, was born at Newcastle on the 10th of June, 1792. When eight years old the boy was sent to a private school kept by the Rev. Mr. Fisher, incumbent of Kirkoswald. Under Mr. Fisher's careful tuition he was well grounded in Latin, and in due course he proceeded to Uppingham Grammar School. He was very industrious, and made excellent use of the first-rate opportunities which he enjoyed at his new school, and so made very rapid progress in Latin and Greek; he read much in both languages, and he acquired at Uppingham great facility in making translations of passages from works which were not generally read by boys of his age. It is clear from a letter which he sent to his father from school that even in those days he possessed a very useful knowledge of Greek and Latin classics, and to the very end of his life he was able to quote long passages from them with great correctness. He read the works of

2 THE ANTIQUARIAN LABOURS OF JOHN CLAYTON

classical writers not as a task, but because he loved them, and the fine all-round knowledge of them which he gained at this time enabled him in later years to detect quickly the errors, both as regards the facts themselves and the language used to describe them, which were made by the archæologists who flocked to his house. Before he left school in 1809 he had also acquired a considerable knowledge of the Italian language, and was skilled in the subjects which were taught to boys in good schools early in the XIXth century. A considerable amount of information about John Clayton's school life is afforded by a long letter which he himself wrote to the Rev. W. Campbell, of Uppingham School, who asked him, as the oldest "boy," to write an account of his school days for the School Magazine; the reader will find the text of this letter printed as an appendix to the present chapter.

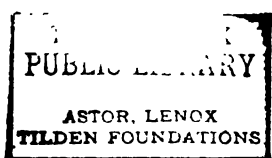
Reference has already been made to the unusually high standard of proficiency to which John Clayton attained in the Greek and Latin classics when at school, and it is now time to show the influence which his studies as a boy had upon him during the years of his early manhood and of his mature life. Although engaged in a profession which absorbed much of his time and demanded the full and frequent exercise of all his fine mental faculties, he continued to read the works of the best Greek and Latin writers, and to learn long passages from them by heart. His reading when he had become a man was, as when a boy, of a singularly wide character, and embraced numbers of books which were, at that time, rarely perused even by professional classical scholars. He was, however, no mere man of books, for long before the fact had entered the minds of learned men in general, Mr. Clayton had decided that the only way to acquire exact knowledge concerning the Greeks and Romans was to examine by means of the spade the remains and antiquities of these great peoples which time and chance had spared. He was prevented by his municipal duties from directing



From a portrait by H. T. Wells, R.A.

JOHN CLAYTON OF CHESTERS.

Born June 10th, 1792 ; died July 14th, 1890.



his energies to the excavations of sites in classic lands, but he realized at an early age that a large unexplored, archaeological field lay at his very door, and he determined to avail himself of the unrivalled opportunities for the study of Roman remains which fortune had placed in his hands. His country residence, Chesters, was actually built upon a part of the great Roman Wall, and the whole of the famous camp of Cilurnum lay, as yet unexamined, between his house and the North Tyne, which flows a few hundred yards distant. He devoted the Monday of each week to the investigation of the remains of the buildings which the Romans had set up, and in this way acquired a knowledge of them which was, practically, unrivalled. His walks along the Wall revealed the fact that the Great Wall, and its Stations, and Mile-castles and turrets had been regarded as a convenient quarry by neighbouring land-owners and farmers, and the natural result was that farmhouses and walls, outhouses, sheds, drains, bridges over drains, etc., had in many cases been entirely built of stones taken from the Wall. Roman stelæ, both sculptured and inscribed, were sometimes turned face downwards, and made to serve as paving stones, and centurial stones were employed as angle-stones in walls and gateways!¹ In the first half of the XIXth century public

¹ Seven furlongs from Chesterholm, and "about 100 yards short of "this distance a spot was pointed out by Mr. Thompson, the proprietor, "where a stone, said to have served as a Roman milestone, was split "in two by his father, in his presence, to be used as gateposts; indeed, "he pointed out one part as standing at the cross-road above mentioned, and the other half lying down in the road."—MacLauchlan, *Memoir*, p. 43. Compare also the following remarks by Mr. Hutton: "Had I been some months sooner, I should have been favoured with "a noble treat; but now that was miserably soured. At the 20th "milestone I should have seen a piece of Severus's Wall, 7½ feet high, "and 224 yards long,—a sight not to be found in the whole line. But "the proprietor, H. Tulip, Esq., is now taking it down to erect a farm-house with the materials. Ninety-five yards are already destroyed, "and the stones fit for building removed. Then we come to thirteen "yards which are standing, and overgrown on the top with brambles. "I desired the servant, with whom I conversed, to give my compliments to Mr. Tulip, and request him to desist, or he would wound "the whole body of antiquaries. As he was putting an end to the "most noble monument of antiquity in the whole Island, they would "feel every stroke."—(Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 3rd edition, p. 113.)

opinion, speaking archaeologically, hardly existed, and few owners of property through which the Roman Wall ran took any effective steps to prevent its destruction by their tenants. To talk of preserving the Wall was useless as long as well-shaped, handy-sized stones, extremely suitable for building purposes, lay ready to the hand of the farmer, and when convenience was joined to economy, all sentiment for the Roman Wall was overcome, and the carting away of its stones went forward merrily. The great pity of it was that it was the *best* portions of the Wall which were removed in this fashion, for labourers naturally preferred to take the stones which were breast high in a standing wall to stooping down and lifting them up from the ground into their carts! There was only one way to arrest the destruction, i.e., to buy up the territory through which the Wall ran; this way, as far as possible, Mr. Clayton took. Whenever an estate having on it a portion of the Wall came into the market, he strove to become its possessor, and generally succeeded in doing so, and thus he succeeded in saving not only much of the Wall itself, but also in preserving the remains of some of the finest buildings which the Romans had erected in connexion with it. At his death Mr. Clayton owned no less than five stations or camps on the Roman Wall, namely, Cilurnum, Procolitia, Borcovicus, Vindolana, and Magna, and he spared neither pains nor expense in preserving the remains which his love for Romano-British Archaeology had caused him to acquire. It is a fact that is too often lost sight of or forgotten, that we owe the preservation of the finest Roman remains in the North of England entirely to Mr. John Clayton, and there is no doubt that he has earned, and should be accorded, the gratitude of every Roman archaeologist for all time.

It is not our intention to describe in detail in this place the excavations which Mr. Clayton carried out on the above-mentioned sites, for this will be done in a group of separate chapters, but it will be well to enumerate here his principal works in connexion therewith. In the year



The Mansion at Chesters, about 1840.



1843 a series of chambers near the east rampart of the Roman Station of Cilurnum (Chesters) was excavated by him, and the work of clearing out other portions of the camp, which had been begun as far back as 1840, was continued. In answer to a very general demand Mr. Clayton wrote a paper on the results which he had obtained, and this was read on November 6th, 1843, before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. His next work was to excavate (in 1849) the remains of the now famous mile-castle at Cawfields, which lies about five miles to the north of Haltwhistle, and a little to the east of Æsica, or Great Chesters. The excavation of these was a most important event, for until they were laid bare nothing whatever was known with certainty of the plan and structure of the mile-castles which Horsley proved to have existed along the Roman Wall. Mr. Clayton's account of his labours at Cawfields was published in *Archaeologia Æliana*, Old Series, vol. iv., p. 54, and the accuracy of his observations at this time was confirmed by the excavations which he made subsequently of the mile-castles which were found at Castle-Nick and Cuddy's Crag. Making his way towards the east, Mr. Clayton carried on (in 1852) some very extensive excavations at Housesteads, which marks the site of the great Roman Station of Borcovicus. The site was one of first importance, and this fact was demonstrated by the Rev. J. Hodgson, who excavated a portion of the south gateway, and who described¹ a kind of subterranean chapel which had been found about 300 yards to the south of the south gateway of the Station, and was originally dedicated to the service of Mithras; this chapel was discovered so far back as 1822. Mr. Clayton dug out two mile-castles at Housesteads, and laid bare the walls and barracks of the Station, the gateways, streets, etc., and so, for the first time for centuries, enabled the visitor to understand the arrangement of one of the finest Stations on the Roman Wall.

¹ See *Archaeologia Æliana*, Old Series, vol. i., p. 263.

At Chesters Mr. Clayton diligently continued the excavations in places hitherto untouched, and he was rewarded by discoveries of considerable importance; he also cleared the abutment of the Roman bridge on the North Tyne, and as a result of this work it became possible to understand the arrangement of the superstructure of the bridge, which was clearly second in importance only to that over the Tyne at Newcastle, and it was proved beyond all doubt by this excavation that the ruins enshrined the remains of *two* bridges.

One of the most fruitful of Mr. Clayton's works was the clearing out of the famous Roman well at Carrawburgh, which marks the site of the Roman station of Procolitia. Above the well the remains of a chapel which was dedicated to the goddess Coventina were found, and below some large stones which had been laid over the mouth of it was discovered a hoard of coins, which are stated to have been about sixteen thousand in number; it is, however, quite certain that the number was much larger, and that many thousands were carried away by visitors who took them, not by twos and threes, but by handfuls. Besides the coins the well contained twenty-four Roman altars, a massive votive tablet, vases, rings, beads, brooches, etc.; the smaller objects were cast into the well by votaries of the goddess Coventina, and the larger appear to have been hurriedly thrown in from the chapel above the well when the guardians of the shrine had to flee from it.

In connexion with this discovery mention must here be made of the good service which has been rendered to the practical archaeology of the Roman Wall by William Tailford, to whom Mr. Clayton deputed the task of digging out Coventina's Well. The first man employed to excavate at Chesters was one William Nickol, who, about the year 1840, was succeeded in the work by William Tailford, who was, at his death, about the year 1860, succeeded by his son, the present excavator at Chesters, who also bears the name of William Tailford.

From 1860 to 1890, the year in which Mr. Clayton died, this faithful servant was his master's right-hand man, and he performed the work which was entrusted to him with the carefulness which merits all praise; and from 1890 until the present year (1902) he has been regularly employed on work connected with the care of the camp at Chesters, and with the antiquities at this and other Stations on the Clayton estates. The forty-two years which he has spent in almost daily contact with the antiquities of the Roman Wall have given him a practical knowledge of the results of the excavations, of which many visitors have been glad to avail themselves, and his services as guide have been much appreciated for many years past. Among the many objects which have been brought to light by Mr. Tailford's spade may be specially mentioned the fragments of the inscribed bronze tablet which is now generally known as the "Chesters Diploma," and of which an account is given in a separate section of this book, and the ring set with a carnelian on which is engraved the representation of a chariot race.

In the course of the various excavations which Mr. Clayton conducted, numerous inscribed altars, stelae, both dedicatory and funereal, as well as sculptured tablets and figures were found; a considerable number of these were taken to Chesters, where they are now preserved with care, but several very important inscriptions and fine sculptures were, unfortunately, allowed to be taken elsewhere. This fact is to be greatly deplored, for among those which have been thus lost to the Clayton collection are some of the finest inscriptions and sculptures which have been found on the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland.

Enough has been said in the preceding paragraphs to shew that, in addition to preserving the best portions of the Roman Wall and the finest of the ruins of camps which now remain, Mr. Clayton took active steps to unearth the antiquities which existed on his property; and the list of his archaeological papers which is given at the end of this chapter proves that he lost no time in

publishing the results of his labours. When we consider what a busy life he led, it must always be a cause for wonder that he could do so much for the subject which, after all, he was only able to study in his leisure hours. Besides work of this kind mention must be made of the time and labour which he expended in helping other archaeologists to make their labours known to the public, and without the least exaggeration it may be said that but for Mr. Clayton's help, both from a scholarly as well as from a pecuniary point of view, it would have been impossible for many of the works which have appeared since 1830 on the Roman antiquities of the North of England to see the light. Strictly speaking, he concerned himself only in collecting facts and information on his subject, and when he felt quite sure of his knowledge, and not until then, he placed it at the disposal of all who asked for it. His extreme modesty urged him to allow others to use freely the learning which he had, and it seemed at times as if he were almost ashamed to receive the acknowledgments that were his due of the help which he had given. He suggested readings of difficult Latin inscriptions which the great epigraphist, Dr. Hübner, admitted were invariably correct, and when they appeared in the works of contemporaneous writers without any recognition of the source from which they had been taken, he was in no way disturbed, and only remarked, "It matters not so long as the work gets done." He revised the proof sheets of the three editions of Dr. Bruce's large work on the Roman Wall, and also of the "Lapidarium Septentrionale" by the same writer.¹ He encouraged workers at archaeology in every grade of life, and his house at Chesters was the centre and focus of Roman studies in the North of England for about fifty years.

Mr. Clayton was not one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, as has some-

"Both the 'Roman Wall' and the 'Lapidarium Septentrionale' enshrine much of Mr. Clayton's discoveries."—Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vii., p. 116.

times been stated, but he¹ became a member of it very soon after it was formed, and besides contributing to its Transactions many valuable papers, he frequently paid for the production of the maps, plans, illustrations, etc., which appeared in his papers. His literary works are characterized by proofs of wide reading, sound classical knowledge and accuracy, and by the absence of vague generalities and hasty theories, which his great, practical common sense enabled him to avoid with ease. He was very fair towards his opponents and towards those who held opinions on difficult points of Roman archaeology which were different from his own, and the writer well remembers how plainly this characteristic of Mr. Clayton showed itself on the occasion of a visit to Chesters which he had the pleasure of paying in 1881. Mr. Clayton, in spite of failing eyesight, walked through his house and out to the colonnade in front, where so many of his fine Roman altars were then exhibited, and discussed the inscriptions in his usual learned and terse manner. The sight of a portion of an inscription mentioning Hadrian naturally induced a reference to the burning question, "Who built the Roman Wall?" whereupon Mr. Clayton gave at great length his reasons for thinking that its builder was Hadrian, and then proceeded to enumerate the arguments of those who regarded Severus as its real maker. Where the arguments were strongly against his own views he admitted it frankly, and he even brought out points in them which told in favour of his archaeological opponents; similarly he exposed many of their wild theories, and showed by means of quotations from classical writers why numerous statements made by these archaeologists *must* be wrong. As he continued to talk one felt that he warmed to his subject, and yet he discussed it with well-nigh judicial calmness, in sentences

¹ This Society was founded in 1813, and its first meeting was held in Loftus' Long Room, in the lower part of Newgate Street, Newcastle, on the east side. Its founder was Mr. John Bell, and its first secretaries were the Rev. John Adamson, and the Rev. John Hodgson.

wherein each word was carefully arranged and was well fitted to express the definite idea or thought, which it was intended to convey to the listener. This discourse, and subsequent conversations on the same subject, proved that he was no mere archaeological theorist, and that he did not lightly adopt other men's views; he was ever ready to admit his obligations to standard works of sound archaeological learning like Horsley's "*Britannia Magna*," or the Rev. J. Hodgson's "*History of Northumberland*," but he never forgot that he had one striking advantage over all his contemporaries, i.e., he had passed a long life as a resident on the Roman Wall, and therefore possessed great practical knowledge of it which was more extensive than that of any other man.

Finally, a word or two must be said about John Clayton the man. He was modest in respect of his own abilities and learning, and extremely tolerant; his disposition was naturally kind, but he never allowed sentiment to overcome his judgment, or to make him act contrary to the dictates of his great practical common sense. His manners were courteous, and his conversation was pleasing, and though his remarks were occasionally cynical, and even caustic, they never went beyond the limits of good taste. His powerful and ready memory, and a considerable fund of dry native humour, made his talk interesting to his hearers. His great knowledge of the world, and extensive intercourse with all sorts and conditions of men, enabled him to look beneath the surface of things, and to consider not only the actions of men but their motives, and to appraise them at their true worth; and professions and appearances rarely deceived him. He was only anxious to do all the good he could in a quiet and unostentatious way.

Mr. Clayton died at his residence, Chesters, on Monday, the 14th of July, 1890, having attained his ninety-eighth birthday on the 10th of the preceding month.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

LETTER FROM JOHN CLAYTON TO THE REV. W.
CAMPBELL, UPPINGHAM SCHOOL.¹

“Chesters, Humshaugh-on-Tyne,

“July 24th, 1889.

“My Dear Sir,—I am sorry I should have been so
“long in performing my engagement to record my
“reminiscences as the oldest ‘Old Boy’ of Uppingham
“School still in existence. On applying myself to the
“task, I found it involved to some extent autobiography,
“and a reference to family correspondence, which has
“been preserved here for upwards of a century; and
“that the failure of my eyesight rendered the task I had
“undertaken somewhat difficult.

“I was born on Sunday, the 10th of June, 1792, being
“the third son of Nathaniel Clayton and Dorothy his
“wife. During nearly the remainder of that century I
“was under family tuition, but in the beginning of
“January, 1800, I was sent to a private school in Cum-
“berland, in which ten or twelve pupils were received
“into his house by the master, the vicar of the parish;
“and where I received a solid and excellent grounding
“in Greek and Latin; but at the same time I acquired
“the Cumberland dialect (a very broad one) in great
“perfection.

“My eldest brother [i.e., Nathaniel Clayton], who was
“at Harrow, had previously received the same advantages

¹ See C. Roach Smith, *Retrospections, Social and Archaeological*,
vol. iii., London, 1891, p. 165 ff.

“as I had in Cumberland. On being transferred to Harrow he went through an examination for the purpose of fixing his place in the school. The broad Cumberland dialect sometimes puzzled the examiner. When the examination was over, the examining master, Mr. Mark Drury, asked him where he had been educated. He replied, ‘At Kirkoswald.’ The master then inquired where Kirkoswald happened to be. The reply was, ‘In Cumberland.’ The examiner then asked who had been his master. In reply to that question, the name of the Rev. Mr. Fisher was given; on which the examining master said, ‘Mr. Fisher has brought you up as a bear; but he has made you a scholar.’ My eldest brother was placed at Harrow in the same class as Lord Byron and Robert Peel, afterwards Sir Robert Peel, the distinguished minister. It may not be uninteresting to add to this digression a letter from my brother to his father, written from Harrow.¹

¹ “Harrow, November 19th, 1803. (Being my birthday.)
 “MY DEAR FATHER,—I received your letter this morning, and am happy to hear that the fever was no worse, as there have been very alarming accounts of it in the London papers. I condole with you on the death of poor Mr. Robson, which will no doubt be a very great inconvenience as well as affliction. The household will, I am afraid, gain no great credit by his publications; but I have a much more curious paragraph to entertain you with. My friend Peel, who is a great wag, informed us some time since of his intention to fabricate an accident, and send it to Mr. Nott, an editor of a morning paper. He wrote a letter to him, signed *Veritas*, and a few mornings since the following paragraph appeared in the newspaper, precisely as Peel had suggested in his letter:—‘A few days ago a dog was seen running through the streets of Harrow with three rats hanging at his throat, and howling very lamentably. A man immediately snatched up a gun, and without injuring the dog shot two of the rats, killed a bat, wounded a sheep, killed a cow, and broke several windows.’ The day this appeared in the newspaper Peel and I dined with Mr. Drury, and he pointed out the paragraph to Peel, asking him who he thought could have put it in? to which Peel answered, with the greatest composure of countenance, that he suspected it to be someone in the school. I may now proceed to inform you, as I am now almost totally recovered, that I have been laid up these three weeks with an arm, which I was for a long time in danger of losing. One evening, coming home with Peel rather later than usual, we found the door locked. I therefore called at one of the ground floor windows to a boy, desiring him to open the door, but he not hearing me, I stretched myself up (by-the-bye, you will find me as long as the Colossus at Rhodes) and endeavoured to

“The first public event which made any impression on my mind was the Battle of Trafalgar. I was still at Kirkoswald, where communication with the rest of the world was in a very primitive state, being altogether in the hands of a carrier from Penrith, who came to the village once a week; the information did not reach us till seven or eight days after its arrival in London. As Admiral Collingwood, the second in command at that battle, was a Northumbrian, and his two daughters were playfellows of my sisters and myself, one felt more than a common interest in this event. Admiral Collingwood was made a peer, but continued afloat till his death on board his ship. In December, 1805, I took leave of Kirkoswald; and I must now shortly state the circumstances which led to the selection of Uppingham as the school at which I should finish my education. My eldest brother, whom we left at Harrow, had now passed his examination for admission into the sixth form. In

“pull down the upper partition of the window; but my hand slipping, went with great force through one of the lower panes, and I absolutely hung by the glass. When I disengaged myself I found my wrist cut half round from the artery, and the doctor says half through. Dr. Harness, as good luck would have it, was then on a visit to Mr. Drury. He has a villa here, was formerly physician to the Fleet in the Mediterranean, and as good a man, I believe, as ever lived, and a great friend of Admiral Collingwood. He immediately sewed up the wound, and the servant thinking it proper to faint, I, who had never directed my studies that way, held the candle, thereby giving Mr. Drury a high opinion of my nerves, not to say courage. Dr. Harness says that if the cut had gone the least bit further it would have divided the artery, and I should have bled to death. The next day I was pressed to take a quantity of black doses and trash; but having pumped out of the doctor, privately, that there was not much necessity for it, I told them that though I could bear an operation, I did not wish to carry an apothecary's shop to the North. My wrist is now fast healing, and I shall cast my sling in a week, and the doctor says I shall be in full condition to handle a gun in the holidays. You will see me at Newcastle on the 9th Dec., in the mail, if I hear nothing to the contrary from you. We have been engaged in a sort of honorary trial every night in Xenophon and Tacitus, which stopped your favourite Euclid; but I asked Mr. Drury to lend me his, and made the best of it in private. I have read much, both in English and Latin, by myself this campaign, and am now engaged in Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. I have just room for, 'Pray write to me, if you can, by return of post.'

“N[athaniel] C[layton].”

"that examination he was first; Sir Robert Peel was
 "second; and Lord Byron was fourth. Peel went to
 "Christchurch, Oxford; Byron went upon his travels;
 "and my brother went for a time to a private tutor. In
 "Moore's *Life of Byron* (vol. i., p. 63) will be found the
 "following passage from the pen of Lord Byron:—
 "'Clayton was another school monster of learning and
 "'talent and hope; but what has become of him I do not
 "'know. He was certainly a genius.' My brother saw no
 "more of Lord Byron; but he had a friendly intercourse
 "with Sir Robert Peel until the death of that gifted
 "statesman. When he became Prime Minister he asked
 "my brother whether he could do anything for him. My
 "brother thanked him for the kindness of his feeling; but
 "added that during the life of his father he was desirous
 "of being able to avoid drawing upon him, which he had
 "been for some time able to refrain from doing, being a
 "Fellow of his College at Oxford, and Lord Eldon having
 "kindly made him a Commissioner of Bankrupts, the
 "emoluments of which appointments, together with that
 "of an increasing business at the Chancery Bar, produced
 "him much more income than he needed. Having heard
 "Sir Robert Peel spoken of in society as cold in his
 "feelings towards his friends, I must be excused for
 "dwelling more than I should otherwise have done
 "on his intercourse with my brother. They seem to
 "have mutually presented each other with books as
 "memorials of their friendship. I have one before me,
 "presented to my brother, being an edition of Horace,
 "published at Leipsic, and I find on the title-page the
 "following MS.:

'E libris Roberti Peel
 'Scholae Harrovvensis
 'Alumni
 'A.D. 1803
 'Ab illo a N. Clayton receptus.'

"An early death was the doom of Sir Robert Peel and
 "also of my eldest brother.

" The private tutor selected for my brother was the
 " Rev. Richard Twopenny, Vicar of Little Casterton, in
 " the county of Rutland, and within two miles of Stamford.
 " The position of the school at Uppingham was well
 " known to Mr. Twopenny, and on his recommendation
 " my father adopted it for the completion of the education,
 " for general purposes, of myself and younger brother.
 " We and our elder brother travelled three in a post-chaise
 " from Northumberland to Uppingham, where we were
 " deposited, my eldest brother proceeding to Little
 " Casterton; and the cost of such journey, as appears in
 " a letter from my brother to his father, was £16 or there-
 " about. On our arrival at Uppingham we found that
 " fifty, or there-about, was the number of scholars, who
 " all lived in the headmaster's house, that they breakfasted,
 " dined, and supped together in a large room called the
 " chapel, adjoining which was an open quadrangle, and
 " around it were studies for the senior boys, without fire-
 " places. A field of sloping ground adjoining these
 " premises on the south was laid out in gardens for the
 " boys. I have forgotten, if I ever knew, on what principle
 " these gardens were allotted; but I found myself in
 " possession of a plot of ground near to a spring of water,
 " under the shelter of a sycamore tree. My garden,
 " which I retained as long as I remained in the school,
 " produced me crops of mustard and cress, lettuces,
 " radishes, and potatoes; but I did not attempt the
 " production of flowers. The school was situated at a
 " considerable distance from the master's house, and was
 " approached through an avenue of lime trees. It con-
 " sisted of one long room, at one end of which sat the
 " headmaster, and at the other end the master who
 " taught writing, arithmetic, and mathematics. In the
 " side room sat the usher or second master. The
 " head-master was the Rev. John Butt, a graduate
 " of the University of Cambridge, and a very good
 " classical scholar. The second master, or usher, was Mr.
 " Thomas Sanders, a man of considerable capacity, with a

"disposition to give himself as little trouble as possible.
 "The French language and dancing were taught by
 "M. Gosli, a French gentleman resident in Stamford,
 "who visited Uppingham once a week. The master who
 "taught writing and arithmetic was changed two or three
 "times during the time I was at the school, and I do not
 "recollect their names. For about a year I was under
 "the second master, or usher; and afterwards I came
 "under the headmaster, and so continued till the end of
 "my school-life. I very soon became acquainted with
 "my schoolfellows, who were a good deal puzzled by my
 "Cumberland dialect, which led them to look upon me and
 "my younger brother as foreigners, which title they gave
 "to us. According to my recollection the elder boys used
 "to find amusement in asking us to repeat English
 "poetry in the Cumberland dialect, which in any pathetic
 "passages afforded them great amusement. The parting
 "of Hector and Andromache was often selected; it began

'Too daring Prince, ah, whither dost thou run ?

'Ah, too forgetful of thy wife and son.'

"I was cured of the Cumberland dialect in two or three
 "months, for which cure I was indebted to my school-
 "fellows, whom I found to be very well conducted
 "individuals. The elder boys refrained from quarrelling
 "themselves, and did not allow the younger boys to fight
 "with each other; no interference of a master could have
 "produced the same effect. The progress of my studies
 "is shortly stated in a letter written to my father, a short
 "time before I left Uppingham, of which the following is
 "a copy :

" ' Uppingham, Nov. 2nd, A.D. 1808.

" ' Dear Father,—

" ' I received your letter, and will, in compliance with
 " ' your request, endeavour, as far as I am able, to give
 " ' you a full and candid account of all that you require. I
 " ' shall in the first place lay before you my daily occupa-
 " ' tions, and the books with which I am at present

“engaged. On Monday, in the morning we read
“Homer and Theocritus in turn, and in the afternoon
“Cicero’s Tusculan Disputations, together with a portion
“of Virgil’s *Æneid*, or the Odes of Horace, which two
“last we take by turns, besides which we write a Latin
“theme. On Tuesday, in the morning, we read the
“Epistles in the Greek Testament, and in the afternoon
“write a copy of Latin verses. On Wednesday our
“occupations are the same as on Monday, except that
“instead of Cicero’s Tusculan Disputations we read his
“Epistles; and instead of a Theme we translate a
“portion of some Latin author or other; unless we have
“the week before executed our exercises particularly
“well, and in that case we are excused the Translation.
“On Thursday we read Thucydides or Herodotus, the
“two first Greek historians, and translate a Greek
“epigram into Latin verse. On Friday morning we read
“the Satires or Epistles of Horace, and in the afternoon
“Huntingford’s Greek Exercises, that is, convert bad
“Greek into good, together with a second lesson in
“Horace. Saturday morning is employed in Geography,
“and in the afternoon in writing a copy of Latin verses.
“Besides which, we are occupied in accounts daily an
“hour-and-a-half. My leisure hours (which are principally
“on Saint days, *id est*, whole Holidays) I partly employ
“in reading Sallust, as we do not read it all in school.
“I have already finished the *Bellum Catilinarium*, and
“am beginning the Jugurthine War, which I hope also
“to finish before the Christmas Holidays. We have at
“this season of the year no amusement that can in any
“great degree divert our attention; by that means very
“little time is lost, but it is utterly impossible for a
“school-boy to seclude himself entirely from amuse-
“ments, he *must* now and then join in the recreations of
“the Play Grounds. I have now laid before you in as
“full a manner as I am able (and I hope to your
“satisfaction) my weekly occupations. I shall in the
“next place give you a list of the books I have entirely

“‘or nearly finished. I have gone through nearly the
 “‘whole of Horace, and likewise of Virgil. I have finished
 “‘what are extant of the Works of Callimachus, and read
 “‘a great part of Ovid’s Metamorphoses and Epistles.
 “‘and two plays of Terence. I must now think of
 “‘concluding, as my paper draws to an end, and with
 “‘love to mamma, my brothers, and sisters,

“‘I remain, dear Father, your dutiful Son,

“‘John Clayton.

“‘P.S.—I forgot to beg you to inform Mamma that
 “‘we received only six pairs of winter stockings, five
 “‘of them were Michael’s, and one mine; and that
 “‘Nathaniel, of course, forgot the tea.’

“The letter, addressed to my father, above quoted,
 “which I find amongst his papers here, giving an account
 “of my studies at Uppingham, does not dwell on my
 “contemporaneous amusement, for which the Saints’
 “Days, being whole holidays, gave considerable scope.
 “The games of cricket and of football occupied a portion of
 “our spare time, and the rest was spent in excursions on
 “foot, into the country round us. At the distance of
 “about two miles from Uppingham was a wooded
 “country, on which were the remains of the primeval
 “forest, which had been allotted specifically to different
 “parishes, and one of these allotments was known as
 “Uppingham Wood. The demands of the navy for oak
 “timber had thinned the trees on these lands, with the
 “exception of one, the wood called Stockerston Wood,
 “in which were magnificent oak trees which the axe had
 “never reached. In these woods were to be found many
 “varieties of the feathered race; and in our rambles we
 “met with kites, buzzards, hawks, and owls, and we
 “sometimes rifled their nests. I brought up a young kite
 “and carried it with me into Northumberland, where it
 “became familiar with all around it. On fine days it flew
 “about the country, but always returned before night.
 “One night we missed him from the accustomed perch,

“and we never saw him more. Doubtless he was shot
“by some individual who took him for a wild bird. In
“Northumberland I never saw a wild kite; in Cumber-
“land I have occasionally seen them; but in the
“neighbourhood of Uppingham they abounded. In the
“neighbourhood of Uppingham in summer we were
“accustomed, for bathing, to resort to Stockerston
“Brook, in which there were about one hundred yards of
“deep water; this we reached by a run of two miles from
“Uppingham. In winter we had good skating within
“half-a-mile of the town, on a pond called Bailey’s Pond,
“doubtless so called from the name of the proprietor.
“All these amusements, of course, led to a continuous
“trespass on the lands of the proprietors and their
“tenants; and I have often reflected on the singular
“amount of kindness and courtesy which were shown
“towards the boys of Uppingham School. I recollect
“only one exception to this. It was our practice in the
“early spring to utilize the rooks’ eggs, treating them as
“plovers’ eggs, and using them at breakfast. The roll-
“call, every two hours, limited the extent of our excur-
“sions, and they seldom exceeded two miles. A rookery
“was recommended to me, exceeding considerably this
“distance; and I started on the morning of a holiday to
“run to the spot, which I found to be more than three
“miles distant. I climbed a tree without delay; but
“before I had got the eggs into my bag I heard from the
“ground an order to come down, which proceeded from a
“female carrying a gun, who threatened to shoot me. I
“bethought myself when I got to ground how I could
“soften the ire of the lady; and with that view I offered
“to her half-a-dozen eggs, which I had already collected,
“assuring her that they were quite equal in quality to the
“plovers’ eggs so much valued in London. She indignantly
“refused to accept them, and required my promise not to
“again enter her property, which I had no hesitation in
“giving her. On subsequently inquiring who the lady was,
“I was informed that she was in the habit of shooting

“partridges on her own ground; and that she seldom
 “missed anything she shot at. I cannot venture to spell
 “her name, which was apparently foreign, but it sounded
 “like Madame Bashushu. I need not add that I never
 “paid the lady another visit.

“My studies were a little varied by the interpretation of
 “Roman inscriptions, found in the Fortresses erected by
 “the Romans as a protection against Scottish invaders,
 “to which my attention was occasionally drawn by my
 “father, who had received a good classical education at a
 “public school at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he was
 “the class-fellow of John Scott, afterwards Earl of Eldon.
 “All these inscriptions will be found at length in the
 “great German work *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* of
 “the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,
 “being a collection of the antiquities in the four northern
 “counties. To return to Uppingham School. It was
 “the custom to have what they called a Speech-day, when
 “recitations in prose and poetry were delivered by the
 “boys, selected for the purpose, before an audience
 “composed of the gentry and clergy of the neighbour-
 “hood, and professors and graduates of the University of
 “Cambridge. I was selected by the Head Master to
 “deliver the Greek Speech, and I believe that I owed this
 “selection to the fulness of my voice :

‘Graiis dedit ore rotundo

‘Musa loqui.’

“In consequence of this selection I delivered on the
 “Speech-day the speech addressed by Demosthenes to
 “the men of Athens. A Cambridge Professor com-
 “plimented me upon my fluency in Greek, but I told him
 “that I had been selected on the ground that my voice
 “was peculiarly fitted for the Greek language; and not
 “because of any superiority over my class-fellows, who
 “understood that language as well as myself. Early in
 “July, 1809, I took my final leave of Uppingham.

“It is a matter of surprise to me that I have in

“subsequent life met with so few of my schoolfellows. This must be ascribed to the circumstances of their residences being south of the Trent, whilst mine was north of that stream. According to my recollection, I have, since I left Uppingham, met with two only of my schoolfellows, namely, Mr. Belgrave, as a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and the other, Mr. Charles Ingle, as a clergyman of Yorkshire. The latter was a very good general scholar, and was possessed of much taste and discrimination in poetry, whether English, Greek, or Latin. He was a nephew or near relation of Dr. Mansell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; and if he had possessed the power of application equal to his capacity, he must have reached distinction. Like the aged in general, I have suffered the pain of surviving many of my relations and friends; but I must be content with those I have left, during the remainder of my life. I shall always retain a grateful recollection of Uppingham, where I acquired much of the knowledge I possess; and where by temperance and bodily exercise, strength, and a sound constitution, I was prepared in middle-age to endure the attacks of hereditary gout, and
“‘To brave the might of Time’s resistless tide.’

(Signed) “John Clayton.”

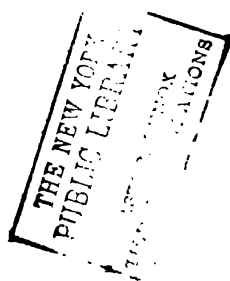
CHAPTER II.

THE CLAYTON COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM
AT CHESTERS—SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

THE greater number of the antiquities preserved in the Museum at Chesters were excavated by or under the direction of the late Mr. John Clayton between the years 1840 and 1890, and they were found on sites situated on his property, viz. Cilurnum (Chesters), Procolitia (Carrawburgh), Borcovicus (Housesteads), Vindolana (Chesterholm), and Magna (Caervoran, or Carvoran); a few were inherited by him, a few he acquired by purchase, e.g., an altar which was found near Lanchester, and a few were presented to him. From the point of view of local importance the Clayton Collection stands unrivalled in the North of England, and it is in its character thoroughly representative of the remarkable military population which lived along the line of the Vallum in the second and third centuries of our era. Its contents include the unique sculptures from the Well of Coventina; an unusually fine group of inscribed altars dedicated to the deities Jupiter, Apollo, Mars Thingsus, Cocidius, Antocidicus, Vitiris, Huitris, Coventina, Fortuna, Minerva, and to the "old gods," etc.; a long and important series of centurial stones; inscribed stelae recording the carrying out of important public works, e.g., the building of an aqueduct, the repair of the bridge at Cilurnum, the restoration of buildings for administrative purposes; sepulchral stelae, among which may be specially mentioned the grave-stone



View of the Museum at Chesters. North-east Corner.





View of the Museum at Chester. South-east Corner.



of Brigovvaglos, the Christian ; a series of milestones belonging to the reigns of HADRIAN (A.D. 117-138), Marcus Aurelius SEVERUS ALEXANDER (A.D. 222-235), Marcus Aurelius PROBUS Pius (A.D. 276-282), Constantine the Great (A.D. 306-337), FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS Pius (about A.D.

340), etc. ; stone figures from Mithraic Tablets and portions of buildings, and architectural decorations in stone ; a series of bowls of red Samian ware ; the unique glass jar and inscribed terra-cotta vases from the Well of Coventina ; and an extensive collection of small objects of various kinds, which is duly described in the Catalogue at the end of this book. It should be noted in connection with the

Clayton Collection that the



Bas-relief sculptured with a figure of a warrior or of the War-god Mars Thingsus.

[From Borcovicus]

[No. 199]

provenance of nearly every object in it is well known ; this is due to the care with which the late Mr. John Clayton carried out the excavations. When several small objects were found they were either tied together by a string or placed in a box, and in this way they were kept until they

were arranged in the positions which they now occupy in the table-cases in the Museum, the same grouping, of course, being observed. This accounts for the fact that all the objects of a certain class are not always exhibited side by side, and will explain why bronze fibulae, etc., are found in more than one place in a table-case.

The following paragraphs will explain the general arrangement of the Museum, and will indicate the most important objects in it.

As the visitor approaches the main entrance he will see



Capital of a pillar, sculptured with Acanthi.
[From Cilurnum] [No. 9]

on his right hand a Roman milestone (No. 259), which was set up on the north side of the Roman highway called the STANEGATE during the reign of the Emperor Caesar Maximinus Augustus (A.D. 237), and on his left a milestone which was found close by No. 259, and

is supposed to have been set up during the reign of Hadrian, traces of whose name may be still seen upon it. The Stanegate was not a military road, but a highway for general traffic, about 27 feet wide, which led from Cilurnum to Magna, near which it joined the famous road called the MAIDEN WAY. Inside the porch may be noted a fine relief sculptured with a figure of the War-god Mars Thingsus (see page 31); a fine mural slab,¹ with an

¹ Found in Scotland.



Mural slab dedicated to the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), by a Vexillatio of the Twentieth Legion, "Valeria Victrix." Below is the figure of a boar, the emblem of the Legion.

[No. 302]

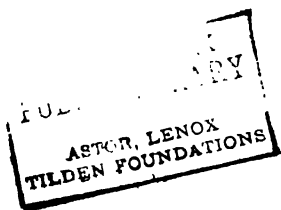
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EX
ATIONS



Stele sculptured in relief with the figure of a Roman soldier, who is armed with a sword and shield, and grasps the standard of his Cohort in his right hand.

[From Procolitia]

[No. 114]



inscription dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) by a vexillatio of the XXth Legion (see page 33); and a stele sculptured in relief with the figure of a Roman soldier (see page 35). In the window opening is an iron anvil, which was found at Borcovicus, and on the shelves in the porch are grouped an inscribed altar dedicated to Jove of Heliopolis in Syria (No. 289); five inscriptions from Cawfields Mile-castle, among them



Altar dedicated to the goddess
Rat
[From Cilurnum] [No. 18]



Altar dedicated to the god Vitiris
by Terevius.
[From Cilurnum] [No. 19]

being one which mentions AULUS PLATORIUS NEPOS, the Legate of the Emperor Hadrian (No. 265); and a considerable number of inscribed stones from the Station of Magna, which, it is said, was destroyed as far as possible by the irate tenant, who thus hoped to prevent the tourist from trespassing on his land.

On entering the large, handsome room which contains

the greater part of the Clayton Collection, the visitor will see the stone monuments which have been found at Cilurnum in the north-east corner; these are followed by the results of the excavations at Procolitia, and along the east wall and in the north-east corner will be found the sculptures, etc., which have come from Borcovicus, Vindolana, and Æsica. Of the monuments from Cilurnum must be specially mentioned the graceful figure of the goddess Cybele, or Ceres (No. 14), standing upon a bull,



Altar dedicated to the god Antocidicus by Vibianus.

[From Cilurnum] [No 20]

which is one of the finest sculptures discovered near the Roman Wall. The presence of this figure suggests that at one time it stood in a small temple which was specially dedicated to one of the great Roman goddesses of harvest, and reproduction, and fertility, and it is probable that her temple was just inside the Station, for the figure was found near the south-west corner. In front of the goddess is a pedestal of a similar figure (No. 14*), which is of considerable interest as showing that the animal upon which the goddess stands is a bull. Under the window

is an inscribed tablet (No. 13) recording the restoration of a building at Cilurnum about A.D. 221, during the reign of Elagabalus. On the upper shelf are an interesting figure of a River-god, probably the Tyne (No. 3), a capital of a pillar (No. 9), and a part of an inscribed slab on which are sculptured the head and banner of a standard-bearer (No. 2); and on the lower shelf is a series of small inscribed altars, among which may be specially mentioned



Portion of a Slab inscribed with a text mentioning the Second Ala of the
Asturians, and sculptured with a figure of a standard-bearer.

[From Cilurnum]

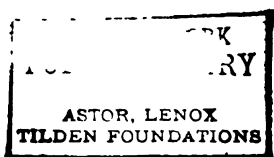
[No. 2]



Corner-stone from the Roman Wall with a text recording the building
of twelve paces of the wall by a company of soldiers.

[From Cilurnum]

[No. 35]



those dedicated to the deities Rat . . . (No. 18), Vitiris (No. 19), and Antocidicus (No. 20). On the massive stone bench may be noted an inscribed corner-stone from the Wall (No. 35), a large inscribed tablet recording the building of an aqueduct by the *propraetor* Marcellus and the Second Ala of the Asturians (No. 36); and below, on the shelf and raised floor, will be seen groups of figures rudely cut in outline upon slabs of stone (Nos. 50 and 51), stones, apparently used for playing some game like draughts (Nos. 15 and 56), fragments of a votive text to Jupiter Dolichenus (Nos. 53 and 54), an inscription recording the repair of the bridge at Cilurnum (No. 48), and an altar dedicated to Fortuna (No. 47).



Stele sculptured in relief with the figure of a torch-bearer.

[Procolitia]

[No 111]

Of the monuments from Procolitia of special interest are:—The inscribed and sculptured tablet which was set up in the temple of Coventina by Titus Domitius Cosconianus, the Prefect of the First Cohort of the Batavians (No. 90); the relief sculptured with figures of the goddess

and her two attendant nymphs (No. 63); the fine series of altars dedicated to the goddess Coventina by Aurelius Grotus (No. 86), by Bellicus (No. 87), by Vincentius (No. 89), by the officer of the First Cohort of the Cuberni (No. 118), by Grotus (No. 119); the altar dedicated to



Portion of a stele sculptured
with figures of Minerva and
Aesculapius.

[From Procolitia]

[No. 64]

Minerva (No. 78), the altar dedicated to the Genius of the Camp by the soldiers of the Second Cohort of the Nervii (No. 91), and the altar dedicated to the goddess Fortuna by Vitalis (No. 94). It is interesting to note that the last-mentioned altar was provided with an iron staple and ring, so that it might be suspended or carried about



Stone inscribed with a record of the building of a portion of the Roman Wall twenty-four paces long by the Thruponian Centuria.
 [From Procolitia] [No. 83]



Centurial stone inscribed, "Centuria of Paulus Aper. IXth Cohort."
 [From Procolitia] [No. 84]



conveniently. Among smaller sculptured stelae Nos. 64 and 111 should be noted; the former was dedicated to Minerva and Æsculapius, and the latter represents a torch-bearer performing some religious ceremony at an altar. Among "centurial stones" those which mention the Centuria of Paulus Aper (No. 84) and the building of a portion of the Roman Wall twenty-four paces long by the Thru-ponian Centuria (No. 83) are the most interesting. It is well known that Procolitia was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Batavians, and that these redoubtable soldiers held that Station on behalf of Rome for nearly two hundred years; we may note, then, the portion of the inscribed stele (No. 25) which records the erection of a building by the Cohort under Burrius, about A.D. 237, and the sepulchral stelae of Milenus, the standard-bearer of the Cohort (No. 113), and of Longinus, its trumpeter (No. 115).

The Station of Procolitia, though not by any means one of the largest on the Wall,¹



Altar dedicated to Cocidius by
Quintus Florius Maternus.
[From Borcovicus] [No. 196]

¹ Its area is $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres; its form is a right-angled parallelogram, measuring about 430 feet in length, and 354 in breadth.

was one of considerable importance because it contained the temple of the goddess Coventina and her famous Well. Of the attributes of the goddess nothing is known, but she appears to have been a local deity, and she presided over the Well round which Cosconianus built his temple, probably during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Coventina is probably a name which was given to some ancient Dutch (?) water or woodland spirit by the Roman



Altar dedicated to the god Huitris by
Aspunis.

[From Borcovicus.] [No. 139]

who, believing that benefits did accrue to those who worshipped at her spring or well, erected a temple in her honour, and lined the sides of the place where her waters flowed forth with masonry, and made them easy of access generally. Round the walls of her temple, which was forty feet long and thirty-eight feet wide, were placed on shelves several of the series of small altars Nos. 43, 68-89, 91-120, which are now arranged along the east wall of the Museum at Chesters, and in a prominent place was

set up the dedicatory inscription of Titus Domitius Cosconianus. If we may judge by the large number of uninscribed altars that were found in the Well, it would seem that the priests kept a supply of such things ready made, and that when a devotee wished to record his gratitude to the goddess, all that it was necessary for him to do was to pay the sum of money demanded

by the priests, who would forthwith cause his name and rank to be inscribed on the particular altar which he had chosen. That the temple of Coventina flourished and was popular there is no doubt, and this fact is attested by the large numbers of coins, brooches, rings, beads, etc., which were found in the Well when it was cleared out by Mr. John Clayton in October, 1875. Both money and ornaments represent the offerings of the devotees of Coventina, who cast them into her Well either in gratitude for benefits already received, or as bribes which would induce the goddess to bestow her favours upon them in the future. The number of the coins which were in this way cast into the Well has been placed as high as 30,000. Some writers have held the view that this large amount of money was thrown into the Well when the Station was hurriedly evacuated about the end of the IVth century of our era, but this theory does not explain the presence of the brooches, pins, rings, beads, and other ornaments worn by ladies that were found with them, and we must therefore accept both coins and jewellery as offerings which were thrown in the Well by ladies and others during the two centuries and a half wherein the name and fame of Coventina were great among the garrisons of the Wall in the neighbourhood of Procolitia.



Altar dedicated to Apollo by
Melanius Senilis.

[Found to the south of the Vallum,
near Borcovicus] [No. 140]

It is interesting to note that one of the worshippers of the goddess applied to her the epithet of "Holy" or "Saint" (No. 89), and that inasmuch as an altar dedicated to Minerva (No. 78), and another dedicated to Fortuna (No. 94) were found in the Well, it is probable that these goddesses were identified with Coventina by those who placed them in her temple.



Sepulchral stele of Brigovvagos, a Christian (?).

[From Vindolana]

[No. 247]

Passing on towards the south-east corner of the room we come to the large series of monuments which were found at Borcovicus, a Station which has not been inaptly named the "Tadmor of Britain." Among these worthy of special mention are:—The large arch (No. 126) sculptured with figures of the War-god MARS THINGSUS and the goddesses BEDA and FIMMILENA, which once spanned the

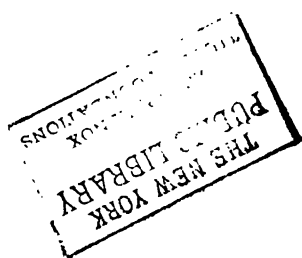


Altar dedicated to the genius of the Praetorium by Pituanus Secundus,
prefect of the IVth Cohort of the Gauls.

[From Vindolana]

[No. 242]

E





Altar dedicated to Jove, and to the other immortal gods, and to the genius of the camp, by Quintus Petronius Urbicus.

[From Vindolana]

[No. 240]

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Stone sculptured in relief with the figure of a boar, the badge of the Twentieth Legion.

[From Vindolana]

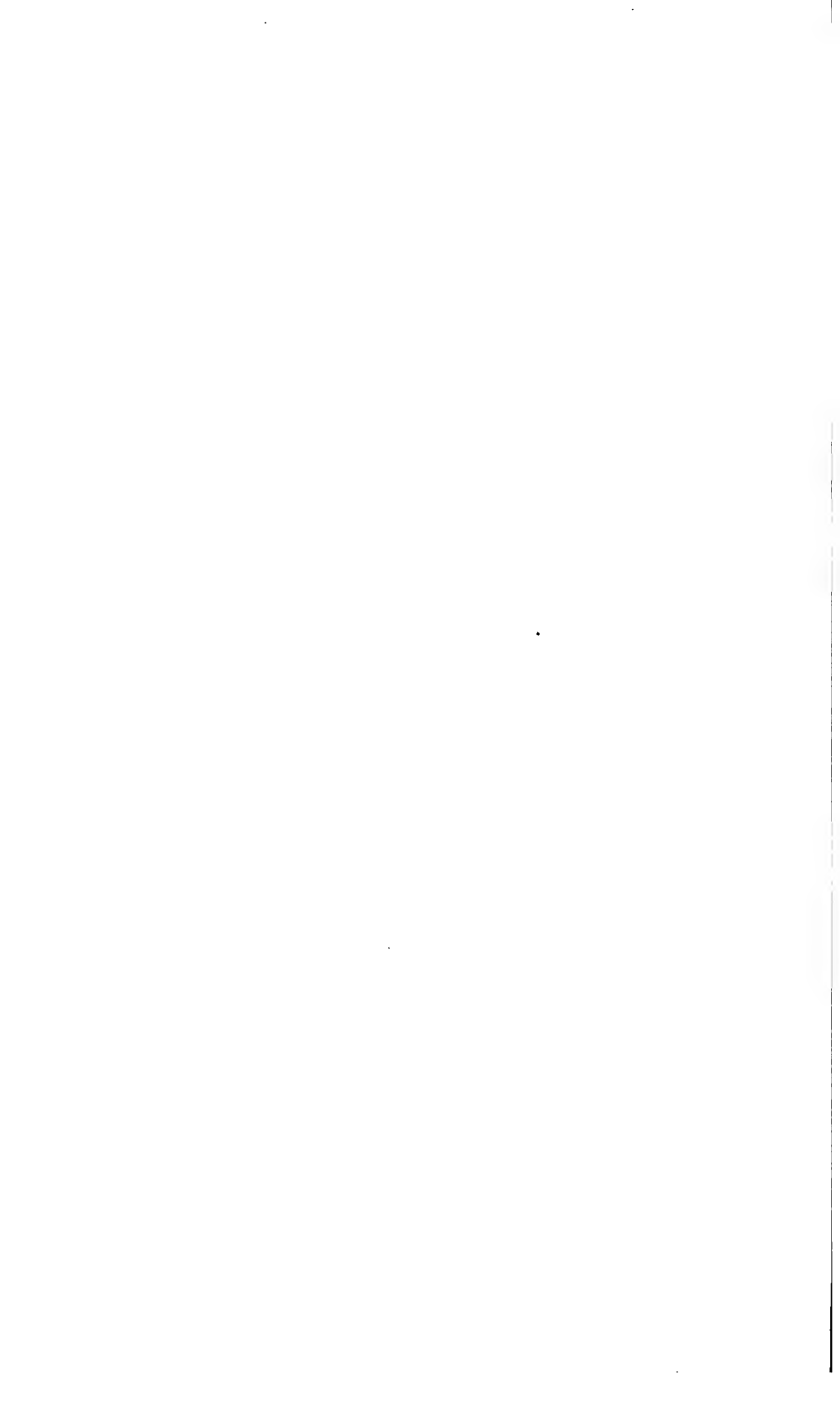
[No. 248]



Stone from the Roman Wall inscribed "20th Legion, Valeria Victrix;" below is the figure of a boar, the badge of the Legion.

[From Vindolana]

[No. 249]



entrance to the temple of the god which undoubtedly stood at Borcovicus; and the two massive altars (Nos. 194, 195) which were dedicated to the above-mentioned deities by the German mercenaries, the Frisians and the Tuihanti. These fine monuments were found at Chapel Hill, which lies about 300 yards to the south-east of the Station; they are historically valuable, and, besides being one of the most interesting groups in the Museum at Chesters, must be regarded as forming three of the most important Roman monuments which were ever set up in Britain. Other objects worthy of

note are :—An inscribed altar dedicated to a native local god called Cocidius (No. 196) by Quintus Florius Maternus of the First Cohort of the Tungrians; a figure of Victory (No. 129), which was found in 1852; a portion of a sun-dial (No. 131); and two cross-legged stone figures of men, wearing Phrygian caps, and holding torches, which prob-



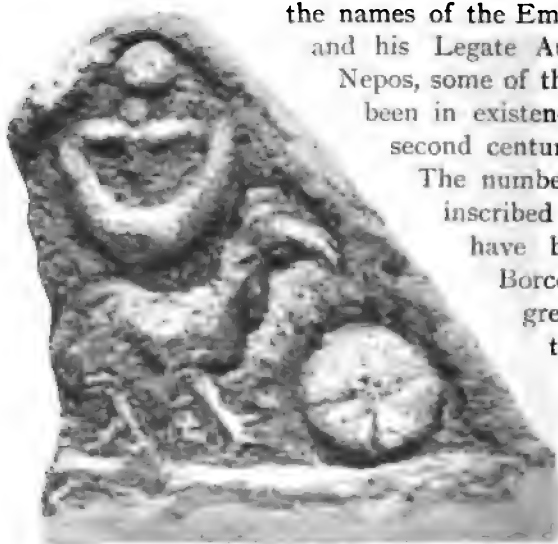
Stone sculptured in relief with the figure of the god Mercury (?).

[From Vindolana]

[No. 253]

ably formed the supporters and stood one on each side of a bas-relief on which was represented Mithras in the act of slaying a bull (Nos. 133, 135). These were excavated by Messrs. Bosanquet and Dickie in 1898 at a place situated about 300 yards to the south of the south gateway at Borcovicus, close to the spot where, about the middle of the third century of our era stood a temple dedicated to Mithras, a form of the Sun-god, whose worship was borrowed from the Persians by

the Greeks and Romans. The Clayton collection is very rich in "Centurial Stones," the greater number of which came from Borcovicus, and its immediate neighbourhood; they commemorate the various works which were carried out in connexion with the Wall by certain officers and their *Centuriae*, and are of considerable interest. The portions of architectural ornaments which are here exhibited prove that Borcovicus must have possessed a large number of relatively fine buildings, and judging by the fragments of stelae inscribed with the names of the Emperor Hadrian and his Legate Aulus Platorius Nepos, some of them must have been in existence early in the second century of our era.



Stone sculptured in relief with astronomical and other symbols.

[From Vindolana]

[No. 254]

The number of the small inscribed altars which have been found at Borcovicus is not great, and of these we need only note that dedicated to HUITRIS by ASPUNIS (No. 139), and that dedicated to APOLLO by MELA-

NIUS SENILIS (No. 140). The antiquaries who visited Borcovicus early in the XVIIIth century tell us that it was "the most remarkable and magnificent Station "in the whole Island, and it is hardly credible what a "number of august remains of the Roman grandeur is "to be seen here," for ruined temples, "or inscriptions, "broken pillars, statues, and other pieces of sculpture," lie scattered everywhere along the ground. This being



Portion of a frieze with sculptured reliefs representing a stag and two fawns
in a forest.

[From Vindolana]

[No. 244]

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Altar dedicated to the woodland god Cocidius, by Decimus Caerellius Victor,
prefect of the Second Cohort of the Nervii.

[From Hardriding, near Vindolana]

[No. 267]

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so it is difficult not to be surprised that, comparatively speaking, so few monuments have been brought from this Station, for its ruins, even in their present state, prove that the buildings of all kinds must have been very numerous there, and we should expect that one of the oldest of the Stations on the line of the Wall would have yielded far more important results. The only conclusion possible is that the natives thoroughly looted the Station after it had been evacuated by the Roman mercenaries, and then altered the buildings to make them suitable residences for themselves, and that when, after a considerable period, they abandoned the place, generations of farmers treated the Station as a quarry, and built their farms, sheds, etc., of stones taken from it. At Cilurnum, Procolitia, and other Stations numbers of small objects have been found in abundance, but such is not the case with Borcovicus, and it is clear that everything of the slightest value was carried off.



The fourteenth Milestone on the Stanegate, inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Severus Alexander, who reigned from A.D. 222 to 235.

[From the Stanegate, near Vindolana]
[No. 257]

In and near the south-east corner of the Museum is displayed an important collection of inscribed altars and



Milestone dedicated to *Constantine the Great*, and to his son *Flavius Julius Constans*, between A.D. 306 and 337

[From the Stanegate, near Vindolana]
[No. 198]

sculpture which were found at VINDOLANA, or, as the place has been called in recent times, "Chesterholm," "Little Chesters" (to distinguish it from Great Chesters, i.e. *Æsica*), the "Bowers," and "Chester-in-the-Wood." Vindolana is situated 1 mile 7 furlongs south-west, 5 south, of Housesteads, and is about half a mile south of the Vallum. It is beautifully situated in a sheltered spot close to the meeting of two small streams, which after their junction descend a steep ravine, called the Chineley Burn, and at a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles fall into the Tyne near Bardon Mill. The Station is about 560 feet above the level of the sea: it is rectangular, and measures 165 yards in length and 100 yards in breadth, and contains an area of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres.¹

¹ MacLauchlan, *Memoir*, p. 41.

The Roman way, or Stanegate, is distinctly traceable on the west of this Station, running nearly in line with the present road from the north gateway; near the farm-house is a Roman milestone, still standing, and close to it is a tumulus, which is said to be pre-Roman. The Rev. A. Hedley, who carried out some excavations at Vindolana in 1818 and 1831, says that, "In the spring of 1818, the tenant, having occasion for stones to build a fence, had recourse to some *rudera* [i.e. "old rubbish"] near the ramparts of the Station, which had, from time immemorial, been the common quarry of the farm, and partly of the neighbourhood, for almost every purpose for which stone is wanted."¹ Among the monuments found at Vindolana worthy of special mention are:—An altar dedicated to the Genius of the Praetorium by Pituanus Secundus, the Prefect of the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls (No. 242), i.e. the commander of the Station; and the altar dedicated to Jove, and to the other immortal gods, and to the Genius of the Camp, by Quintus Petronius Urbicus (No. 240). It will be noticed that after line 7

¹ *Arch. Æl.*, vol. i., Old Series, p. 209.



Roman Milestone inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Constantinus Pius, who reigned about A.D. 340.

[From the Stanegate, near Vindolana] [No. 256]

there is an erasure, which is, according to Dr. Bruce, "the consequence of some blunder on the part of the stonecutter,"¹ and, according to Prof. Hübner, the result of obliterating the cognomen of the Cohort which was derived from some Emperor, whose memory subsequently became a subject for cursing.² Of great interest, too, is the sepulchral inscription of Brigovvaglos (No. 247), who



[From Cilurnum] Samian Ware Bowl. [No. 3. Table-case A.]

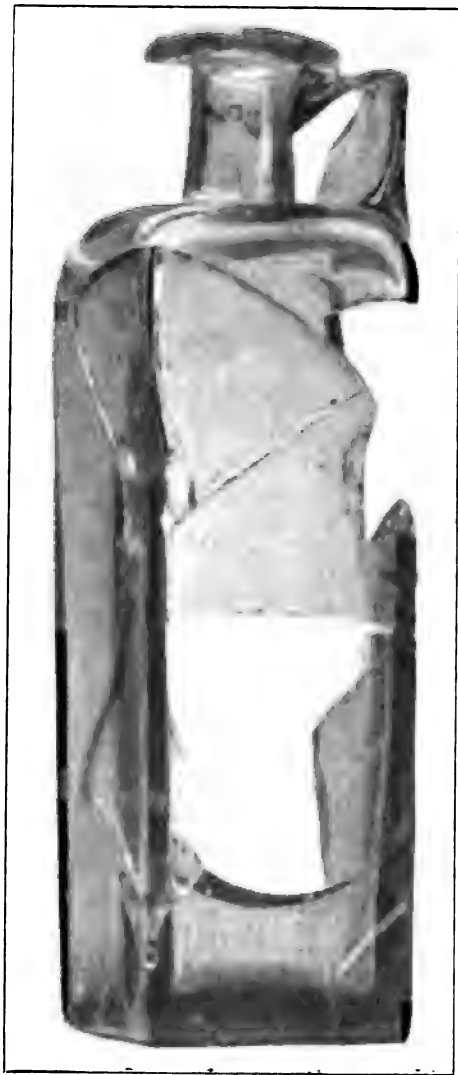
appears to have been a Briton, this name being British, and judging by the use of the words *HIC JACIT* (for *HIC*

¹ *The Roman Wall*, 3rd Edition, p. 168.

² "Consulto erasus cognomen cohortis videtur continuisse ab imperatore quodam damnatae memoriae ductum."—*Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, p. 128, No. 704.

JACET), he was probably a Christian who lived in the fifth century of our era.

Among the smaller monuments from Vindolana may be mentioned: a stone inscribed with the title of the XXth Legion, "V V," i.e., "Valeria Victrix," and bearing on it a boar in relief (No. 249); a smaller stone bearing upon it a boar in relief, the badge of the Twentieth Legion (No. 248); a small stone sculptured in relief with a figure of the god Mercury (?) (No. 253); and a stone sculptured in relief with astronomical and other symbols (No. 254). Of interest, too, is the portion of a frieze sculptured with two sylvan scenes; in the upper a stag running through a wood is represented, and in the lower we see two fawns feeding (No. 244). When Wallis



Green Glass Bottle.

[From the Well of the goddess Coventina at Procolitia]

[No. 18. Table-case C.]

CHAPTER III.

A LIST OF THE PAPERS ON EXCAVATIONS OF
SITES ON THE ROMAN WALL, AND ON THE
ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED THEREON, CON-
TRIBUTED TO "ARCHAEOLOGIA AELIANA"
BY JOHN CLAYTON, ESQUIRE, F.S.A.

1. ACCOUNT OF AN EXCAVATION RECENTLY MADE WITHIN THE
ROMAN STATION OF CILURNUM (Communicated in a
Letter to the Secretaries). Vol. iii., Old Series, p. 142.
1843.

In this paper Mr. Clayton estimates the area of the station of Cilurnum to be nearly eight acres. He describes the excavation of the Baths and the chambers adjoining, and the flagged floors which are supported on pillars three feet high, and the remains of the flues and furnaces; these remarks are accompanied by a ground plan, and he points out that the baths at Cilurnum resemble those found at Stabiae and elsewhere in Italy. The statue of the River-god (No. 3) was found in the chamber which contains the bath. He mentions that the following objects were found in the adjoining chambers :—

1. A fibula of mixed brass.
2. A silver signet ring, with a carnelian bezel, on which is engraved the figure of a cock pecking at an ear of wheat.
3. A stylus of brass, and two of ivory.
4. Two Javelin heads.
5. Fifty coins of various Roman Emperors, viz., Hadrian, Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Antoninus Pius, Victorinus, Tetricus (father and son), Claudius, Probus, Carausius, Constantine, Constans, Valentinian, Gratian, etc.

It is very important to note that in this paper Mr. Clayton speaks of the Roman Wall as the "Wall of Severus."

2. ACCOUNT OF EXCAVATIONS AT THE MILE-CASTLE AT CAWFIELDS, ON THE ROMAN WALL. (Communicated in a Letter to the Secretaries.) Vol. iv., Old Series, p. 54, 1848.

In this paper Mr. Clayton describes the finding of portions of inscriptions set up by the Second Legion to commemorate the names of Hadrian and of Aulus Platorius Nepos, his legate, and says, "These remains tend to confirm the conjecture of our late lamented friend, and secretary, the Rev. John Hodgson, the Historian of Northumberland, that the Murus, popularly called Severus' Wall, was, to some extent at least, the work of Hadrian; this notion seems to have been entertained in the time of Horsley, but to have been exploded, for the time, on the authority of that learned antiquarian, who, in the Eighth Chapter of the First Book of his *Britannia Romana*, after mentioning such to have been the opinion of some "for whose judgment he had great regard," proceeds with his usual terseness of expression, and sagacity of reasoning, to state the grounds on which he himself had arrived at a contrary conclusion—if the materials for forming a judgment which we now possess had been before him, he would probably have been induced to hold a different opinion, and to side with our late ingenious fellow antiquary, Mr. Hodgson." Mr. Hodgson based his opinion chiefly on two inscriptions which were found, one in the Castellum, near the Hotbank farm-house, near Milking Gap, and the other in the ruins of a Mile-castle in the same neighbourhood. As these inscriptions mention the Second Legion, which was undoubtedly employed on the work of Hadrian, and the Emperor Hadrian, and Aulus Platorius Nepos, his legate in Britain, and they were found in two of the Millitary Turrets which form part of the Wall of Severus, and are contemporary with it, it was assumed that they afforded "strong reason for believing that Hadrian was the author both of the Turrets and the Wall. The conclusion arrived at by Mr. Clayton in this paper was that 'Severus must have been content with repairing the work of Hadrian,'" and that he employed the Second and the Sixth Legions in carrying out his work. Mr. Clayton further mentions the discovery of three centurial stones, viz., those of RUFUS SABINUS, CAECILIUS MONUS, and

Great (A.D. 306-337); the fourth (No. 256) was set up in the reign of Constantinus Pius (about A.D. 340); and the fifth (No. 259) was set up in the reign of Caesar Maximinus Augustus (about A.D. 237). On the end of the upper stone shelf are two small altars (Nos. 259, 260), which



Terra-cotta Vase with painted bands, the neck of which is ornamented with a female head.

[From Procolitia] [No. 19. Table-case C.]

were dedicated to the "old gods;" these come from Æsica, or "Great Chesters," the tenth Station on the Wall, which lies 4 miles 1 furlong from Chesterholm, and 5 miles $3\frac{1}{4}$ furlongs from Housesteads in a straight line, and 5 miles $7\frac{1}{4}$ furlongs by the Wall. The Station is 550 feet above the level of the sea; its north and south fronts are each 390 feet long, and its east and west fronts each 330 feet long, and its area is about three acres.

The fine rectangular tablet (No. 272) inscribed with the

name of Hadrian was found near the eastern gateway of Æsica.¹

¹ For an account of the excavations which were carried out at Æsica in the years 1894-97 see Mr. J. P. Gibson's exhaustive paper in *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xxiv., pp. 19-64.

Passing now to the consideration of the smaller objects from Chesters we may note the contents of Table-Cases A and B, in the upper portions of which are exhibited some good specimens of bowls and other vessels made of Samian ware. Other objects of interest are:—TABLE-CASE A. A series of fragments of glazed and painted ware (Nos. 1-55), three terra-cotta heads (Nos. 58-60), a lead plaque (No. 61), a group of lead whorls and net-sinkers (No. 71 ff.), two whetstones (Nos. 118, 119), a boar's jaw (No. 171), a human jaw (No. 172), a long series of bone pins (Nos. 200-334), a bone or ivory comb (No. 337), a group of jet rings and other ornaments (No. 362 ff.), and a long series of fragments of glass, among which may be specially noted Nos. 487, 489, a fragment engraved with the face and part of the head of a man (No. 544), and a fragment engraved with the head of a horse (No. 545).

TABLE-CASE B. A bronze handle (No. 654), two pieces of metal with patterns (Nos. 656, 657), fragment of enamelled metal (No. 658), a bronze lamp (No. 650), a group of bronze keys (No. 788 ff.), spoons (No. 808 ff.), pins, needles, borers, etc. (No. 814 ff.), a dog running (No. 853), enamelled brooches (Nos. 904-907), scales from armour (No. 908), rings, bracelets, and fibulae (No. 1097 ff.), bird and horse's head (Nos. 1095, 1096), hollow-work and



Lead Net-sinker with iron staple.

[From the Well of the goddess Coventina at Procolitia] [No. 110]



Bronze Bell.

[From the Well of the goddess Coventina at Procolitia]
[No. 100. Table-case C.]

7. FIND OF ROMAN COINS AT CRACKENTHORPE. Vol. vi., New Series, p. 196, 1865.

In this paper Mr. Clayton described 157 Roman silver coins which were found together on the estate of William Crackenthorpe, Esq., near the Maiden Way, and near the Roman Station of Brovonacae (Kirkby Thore) in Westmoreland. The coins are denarii: of Nero 2, Galba 1, Otho 1, Vitellius 2, Vespasian 11, Titus 4, Domitian 4, Nerva 1, Trajan 27, Hadrian 35, Antoninus Pius 29, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius 3, Marcus Aurelius 13, Verus 6, Sabina 6, Faustina 13, Faustina junior 5, Lucilla 3, Crispina 1. The date of the deposit would be late in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, or early in that of Commodus, about the year 180 A.D.

8. THE BENWELL ALTARS. Vol. vi., New Series, p. 197, 1865.

In this paper Mr. Clayton criticises the work of Dr. Scott, Master of Baliol College, on the second Benwell altar.

9. FIBULAE FROM BORCOVICUS. Vol. vi., New Series, p. 225, 1865.

10. NOTES OF AN EXCAVATION AT CILURNUM. Vol. vii., New Series, p. 171, 1876.

This paper contains some important observations on the arrangement of the camp at Chesters, which, like that at Amboglanna, had six gates, i.e., one gate on the north side, one on the south, and two gates on the east and west fronts, one of them being a single gate, and the other a double gate. He shows that the Station at Cilurnum and the Wall were entirely distinct works, and that although they touch each other there is no intermixture of masonry. The coins found in the course of this excavation ranged from Domitian (A.D. 81 to Valentinian (A.D. 375).

11. NOTES OF AN EXCAVATION OF A TURRET ON THE ROMAN WALL. Vol. vii., New Series, p. 256, 1876.

The turret excavated by Mr. Clayton is one of three mentioned by Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale* as lying to the west of Cilurnum, and measures 11 ft. 10 in. from north to south, and 11 ft. 4 in. from east to west; its remains are about 530 yards west of Tower Tye Mile-castle.

63-80), gilded glass beads (No. 65), miscellaneous beads (No. 62), a bronze horse (No. 102), a bronze dog (No. 103), a bronze head of Mirth (No. 104), and one of Melancholy (No. 105), bronze face from the statue of a man (No. 106), an ivory pin, or stylus, with a woman's face cut on its head (No. 107), a bone or ivory die (No. 108), an enamelled bronze stag (No. 93), a bronze handle (No. 97), a lead net sinker with an iron staple (No. 110), a bronze bell (No. 100), and the right hand of a man in bronze, a votive offering (No.



Bronze Purse which was found with three gold and sixty silver coins in it at the bottom of an old Roman quarry.

[From the hill of Barcombe, near Borecovicus] [No. 1703]

III). To the right of the above-mentioned objects from Procolitia will be found a series of fragments of glass vessels, pins in bone, jet, and bronze, a boar's tusk, etc., all of which were found at Æsica or "Great Chesters." Passing now to the other side of the case the visitor may note a group of eight intaglios (Nos. 1418-1425), a pair of pincers (No. 1605), a medicine weight (No. 1697), a bronze wire chain (No. 1702), and a bronze ring with a crystal

bezel (No. 1707). No. 1703 is a Roman bronze purse, in a fine state of preservation, which was found in an old quarry on Barcombe hill, near Housesteads, and No. 1704 is a similar object from Amboglanna (Birdoswald). The money was placed in the oval cavity which is made out of a single piece of sheet bronze, and the cover was hinged, and could be securely fastened by means of a strong spring catch, a portion of which is seen projecting in No. 1703; purses of this kind were carried on the wrist. No. 1703 when found in the year 1837 contained three



Male Bronze figures.

[From Kirkby Thore] [Nos. 10, 74. Table-case F.]

gold coins wrapped up in a piece of leather, and sixty silver coins; nine of the silver coins belonged to the consular series, and the rest were coins of the Empire. The discovery of this hoard of coins is generally known as the "Thorngrafton Find," and a summary of Mr. Clayton's account of it will be found on p. 79. By the side of the purses are exhibited a flint scraper, and a bronze axe-head which were found¹ during the cutting of a section in the

¹ Mr. Sheriton Holmes' deductions will be found in *Arch. Æl.* vol. xvi. p. 328.



A collection of Mill-stones which were found at Cilurnum, Procolitia, and other sites on the Roman Wall; some of them are made of a hard volcanic stone which was imported from Andernach on the Rhine.

84 MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS BY VARIOUS WRITERS

By Geo. S. Faber.

REMARKS ON THE INSCRIPTION TO THE ZODIACAL CERES. *Arch. Æl.*, Old Series, vol. i., p. 107.

By Chancellor Fergusson.

HADRIAN'S GREAT BARRIER. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xiii., p. 85.

THE WALL AND VALLUM OF HADRIAN. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xiii., p. 181.

By J. P. Gibson, Esquire.

EXCAVATIONS AT GREAT CHESTERS (ÆSICA), 1894-97. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xxiv., pp. 19-64.

By G. C. Greenwell, C.E.

ON ROMAN BRIDGES. ARCH. SOC. OF DURHAM AND NORTHUMBERLAND, vol. iv., pp. 5-18.

By F. Haverfield, M.A., F.S.A.

MOTHER GODDESSES. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xv., p. 320.

A NEW ROMAN INSCRIPTION AT CHESTERS. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xix., p. 179.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM ÆSICA. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xix., p. 268.

EXCAVATIONS AT CHESTERS IN SEPTEMBER, 1900. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xxiii., pp. 9, 268.

REPORT OF THE CUMBERLAND EXCAVATION COMMITTEE FOR 1900. TRANS. OF THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQ. AND ARCH. SOC., vol. i., New Series, 1901, p. 84 ff., and see the plate accompanying the paper.

By the Rev. A. Hedley.

AN ACCOUNT OF A SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT LITTLE CHESTERS, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND. *Arch. Æl.*, Old Series, vol. i., p. 208.

By the Rev. John Hodgson.

AN ACCOUNT OF AN INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT WALWICK CHESTERS, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, *Arch. Æl.*, Old Series, vol. i., p. 128.

ON ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHAEOLOGY 85

OBSERVATIONS ON THE ROMAN STATION OF HOUSESTEADS AND
ON SOME MITHRAIC ANTIQUITIES DISCOVERED THERE.
Arch. Æl., Old Series, vol. i., p. 263.

By T. Hodgkin, D.C.L., F.S.A.

THE LITERARY HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WALL. *Arch. Æl.*,
vol. xviii., p. 83.

THE CAERVORAN INSCRIPTION IN PRAISE OF THE SYRIAN
GODDESS. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xxi., p. 289.

EXCAVATIONS ON THE LINE OF THE ROMAN WALL IN NORTHUM-
BERLAND. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xxiv., p. 1.

ROMAN NORTHUMBRIA. *Northern Counties' Magazine* for April,
May, and June, 1901, pp. 25, 113, 164.

By Sheriton Holmes.

ROMAN BATHS AT CILURNUM. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xii., p. 124.

ROMAN BRIDGES AT CHOLLERFORD. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xvi., p. 328.

By the Rev. R. E. Hooppell.

ON THE PROBABLE SIGNIFICATIONS OF THE NAMES OF THE
ROMAN STATIONS, "*PER LINEAM VALLI*," AND ON THE
PROBABLE POSITIONS OF THOSE HITHERTO UNIDENTIFIED.
Arch. Æl., vol. viii., p. 50.

By Professor E. Hübner.

ROMAN INSCRIBED ALTARS AT HOUSESTEADS. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. x.,
p. 155.

By Daniel Leader, Esquire.

NOTES OF A ROMAN KNIFE FOUND AT CILURNUM. *Arch. Æl.*,
vol. x., p. 115.

By W. H. L. Longstaffe, Esquire.

COVENTINA. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. viii., p. 88.

By R. Mowat.

MEANING OF THE NAMES PROCOLITIA, PETRIANAE, CIASSIANA.
Arch. Æl., vol. xiii., p. 371.

By J. Philipson, Esquire.

ROMAN HORSE-TRAPPINGS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ROMAN
BRONZES LATELY FOUND AT SOUTH SHIELDS. *Arch. Æl.*
vol. xi., p. 204.

By H. G. Potter, Esquire.

AMBOGLANNA. *Arch. Æl.*, Old Series, vol. iv., p. 63.

By the Rev. G. Rome.

THE WALL OF COVENTINA AT CARRAWBURGH (PROCOLITIA).
Arch. Æl., vol. viii., p. 60.

By G. Stephens, Esquire.

ROMAN ALTARS AT HOUSESTEADS. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. x., p. 148.

By J. Trevelyan, Esquire.

AN ACCOUNT OF A ROMAN RING FOUND AT HUTTON CHESTERS,
AND OF A BAS-RELIEF FIGURE OF NEPTUNE FOUND AT
CARROW, IN NORTHUMBERLAND. *Arch. Æl.*, Old Series,
vol. i., p. 203.

By W. T. Watkin, Esquire.

ON THE DISCOVERY OF ROMAN INSCRIBED ALTARS AT HOUSE
STEADS. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. x., p. 148.

REMARKS ON SOME ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FOUND ON THE ROMAN
WALL AT CILURNUM. *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xiii., p. 190.

BIRDOSWALD ALTAR. *Trans. Cumb. and West. Arch. Soc.*,
vol. ix., p. 284.

See also :—

1. LIST OF COLLECTION OF ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FOUND PRINCIPALLY AT OR NEAR THE STATION AT HOUSESTEADS, THE ANCIENT BORCOVICUS, AND WHICH HAVE LATELY (1822) COME INTO THE POSSESSION OF THE SOCIETY. By the Rev. John Hodgson, in *Arch. Æl.*, Old Series, vol. i., Appendix, p. 7.
2. CATALOGUE OF THE INSCRIBED AND SCULPTURED ROMAN STONES IN THE POSSESSION OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE. By J. Collingwood Bruce, in *Arch. Æl.*, New Series, vol. i., p. 221.

CHAPTER IV.

THE STATION OF CHESTERS (CILURNUM).

THE Roman Station of Cilurnum, which is, according to the "Notitia Dignitatum," the sixth on the line of the Wall as the traveller journeys from east to west, is situated on the western bank of the North Tyne, about 130 yards from the river, and about 50 feet above it. It lies in a most beautiful portion of Northumberland, amid scenery which is extremely typical and picturesque, and the shelter which the surrounding hills afford is not the least important of the benefits with which Nature has endowed the site. The river, so near at hand, ensured a bountiful and constant supply of water for the men of the famous Spanish cavalry regiment, which formed the Second Ala of the Asturians and their followers, and the gentle slope of the ground towards the river enabled the operation of watering the horses to be performed at all times with ease and despatch; there can be little doubt that this characteristic advantage of the site was not overlooked by the astute military engineer who marked out the stronghold of the bold horsemen that were to garrison the important Station of Cilurnum, and to guard the bridge. The position of the Station was, moreover, of the greatest value strategically, for it enabled the sentries to keep watch and ward over all the approaches thereto; it commanded the river, over which the Wall was led at a place which could be very easily defended; and by ascending the road, which is close to the Wall, as far as Limestone Corner, the patrols would be enabled to keep

under observation an enormous tract of country, for at this spot the highway lies at a height of about 800 feet above the level of the sea. From every point of view the Station of Cilurnum was far superior to the other Stations on the line of the Wall, and everyone who has seen the spot will echo the words of the Rev. John Hodgson, who says,¹ "The Astures, in exchanging the sunny valleys of Spain for the banks of the tawny Tyne, might find the climate in their new situation worse, but a lovelier spot than Cilurnum all the Asturias could not give them. The situation is delightful—on a tract of fertile ground embosomed on every side but the north with hills, cultivated to their tops, and tracing the horizon with a line of great beauty."

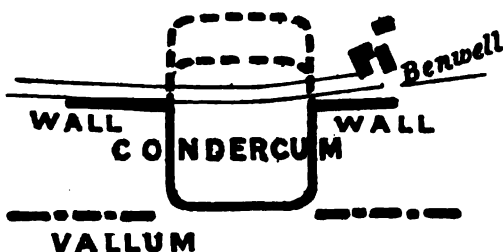
The Station of Cilurnum is 5 miles $3\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs from Hunnum, or Halton Chesters, the fifth station on the line of the Wall to the east, and 3 miles $2\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs from Procolitia, or Carrawburgh, the seventh station on the line of the Wall towards the west, but the distance by the Wall from Cilurnum to Procolitia is 5 miles $3\frac{3}{4}$ furlongs.²

The Station of Cilurnum, or Chesters as we may now call it, in one important respect resembles the Stations of Condercum and Vindobala, that is to say, its northern rampart does not coincide with the great Wall, as do the northern ramparts of the Stations of Borcovicus and Amboglanna, in other words, Chesters lies across the line of the Wall, with one portion of its area stretching towards the north. "The Wall strikes that of the Station so as to leave about 71 yards on the north, and 115 yards on the south, consequently the east and west sides will be 186 yards in length; they are at right angles to the course of the Wall, and their opposite or north and south sides are at right angles to them, and 137 yards in length, giving an area of about $5\frac{1}{4}$ acres, not including the ditch. . . ."³

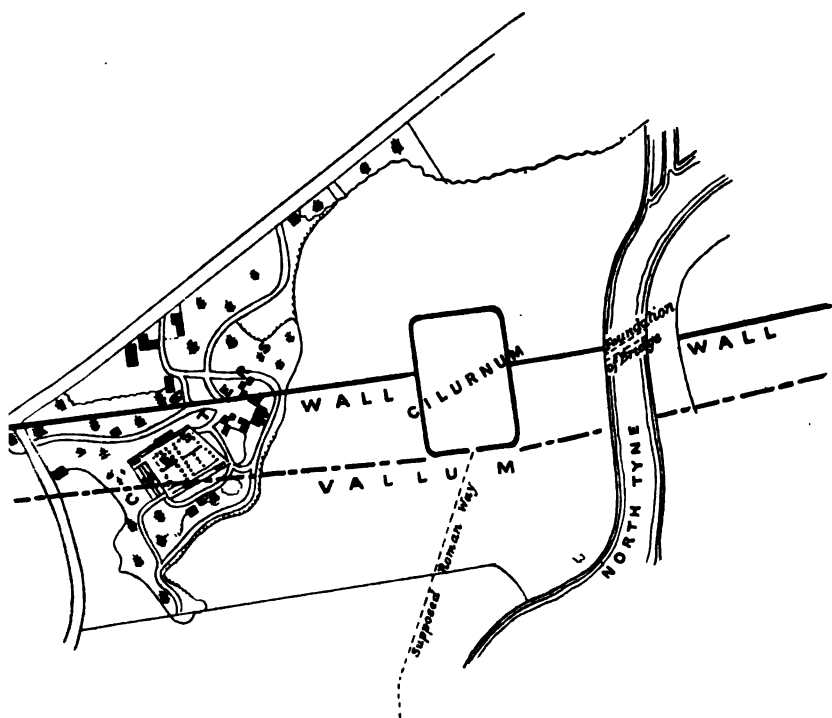
The angles of the wall of the Station, which was about

¹ *History of Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 180.

² MacLauchlan, *Memoir*, p. 34. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

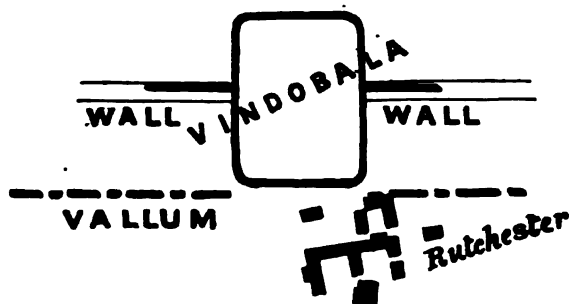


Plan of the Station of Condercum (Benwell), showing how the Great Wall strikes the east and west walls, as at Cilurnum.¹

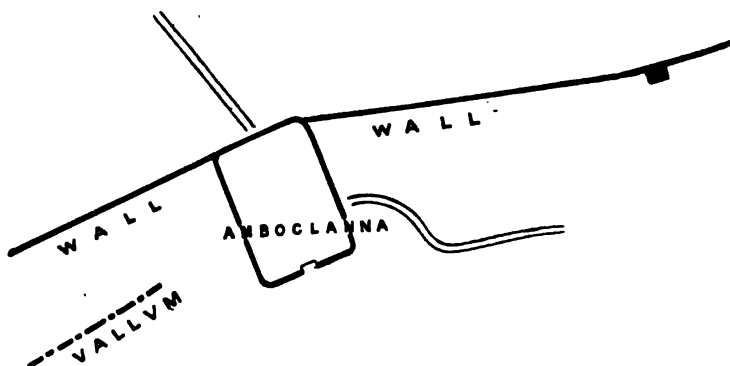


Plan of the Station of Cilurnum (Chesters), showing how the Great Wall strikes the east and west walls, as at Condercum, Vindobala, etc.

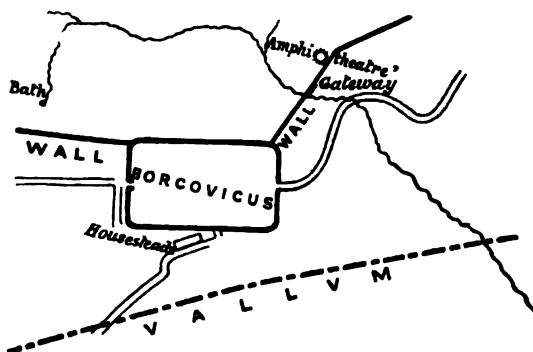
¹ The five plans of Stations given on this and the following page, and the plan on page 145, are taken from MacLauchlan's map.



Plan of the Station of Vindobala (Rutchester), showing how the Great Wall strikes the east and west walls, as at Cilurnum.



Plan of the Station of Amboglanna (Birdoswald), showing how the Great Wall forms its northern boundary.



Plan of the Station at Borcovicus (Housesteads), showing how the Great Wall forms its northern boundary.

5 feet thick, are rounded off in the usual way, with a radius of 40 feet; and the ditch, which made them practically inaccessible to the enemy, is still visible. With the exception of Amboglanna (Birdoswald) Chesters is the largest Station on the Roman Wall; in many respects Chesters resembles Birdoswald, e.g., it has six gates; but the latter has an area which is a quarter of an acre larger than that of the former.

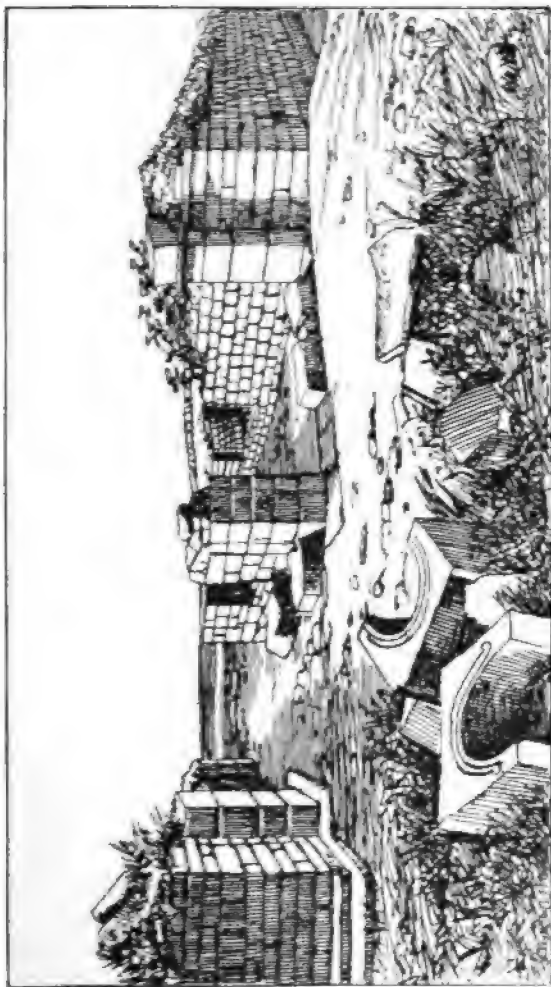
With the view of explaining why some of the Stations on the eastern side of our Island have been built right across the line of the Wall, it has been supposed that the parts which lie to the north of that line are more modern than those which are to the south of it, and in order to let this theory be put to the test Mrs. Clayton, in September, 1900, permitted Mr. F. Haverfield, M.A., to cut a series of trenches in the Station of Chesters. The theory suggested was that in the first instance, the Wall and its ditch might have coincided with the northern wall or rampart of the fort; that subsequently the Wall and the ditch might have been destroyed and obliterated for a little distance, and the fort of Chesters constructed, or reconstructed, in the shape in which we now see it.¹ The points in the wall of the Station where the great Wall meets it are at the north-eastern and north-western gateways on the east and west sides of the Station; these points were joined, and trenches were cut across the line. One of these was 41 feet long, and the place chosen for it was in the middle of the fort; the ground to a depth of 3 or 3½ feet was found to consist of broken stone, etc., and beneath that was found the untouched gravel which represents approximately the old Roman level. In the middle of the trench a gap, 27 feet wide from lip to lip, and filled with mixed soil, was found, and on digging through this Mr. Haverfield was able to clear out the two slopes. "The mixed soil filling the gap between these

¹ *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, vol. i., new series, Kendal, 1901, p. 85; *Archæologia Eliana*, vol. xxiii.

“slopes was mainly gravel till a depth of about 6½ feet
“below the present surface; below was a stratum of grey
“clay, and below that a substantial layer of moss, peat
“and decayed vegetation, containing also evidence of
“man. The vegetation included decayed leaves and bits
“of alder and birch, retaining still its silver bark, and
“looking as if it had been cut by a knife; the evidences
“of man were a leather object, which was probably a bag,
“a bronze nail, and some animal bones, including a deer’s
“antler. . . . Beneath the peat, at the depth of nine feet
“from the present surface we came to the ordinary gravel
“subsoil.” The ditch found was V-shaped, but the sides
were not so steep nor the angle so definite as in a V: and
Mr. Haverfield concluded that when originally constructed
it was probably more than 27 feet wide and 6 feet deep.

The ditch was dug along the line connecting the two
points where the Wall touched the wall of the Station,
and “whilst it was open peaty vegetation grew in its
“damp bottom, and bits of wood, a leather bag,¹ and
“other objects tumbled in. . . . Finally it was filled
“in, principally with gravel of the spot, a new fort
“was built over it, and in particular a drain or gutter
“was taken at this point obliquely across it.” Mr.
Haverfield thinks that he found disturbed soil and
the resemblance of a ditch, and therefore he believes
that the “original line of defence at Chesters was con-
“tinuously straight, and that the existing fort, which sits
“across that straight line, is of later date. That is, we
“have at Chesters, as at Birdoswald, an earlier and a
“later line.” On the other hand he found no evidence
which showed whether the Wall of the earlier line was
constructed of earth or turf or stone, or whether an
earlier Station existed at Chesters corresponding to
the earlier line. Mr. Haverfield also thinks that the
two periods at Chesters are to be compared with the
two periods at the bridge over the North Tyne, close

¹ The leather bag is exhibited in the table-case in the small room
of the Museum at Chesters.



Sketch of the north-eastern Gateway of the Station of Amboglanna (Birdoswald).

by the Station of Chesters. "There we find," he says, "an earlier bridge and a later bridge,¹ and the earlier bridge is earlier than the wall of stone, while the later bridge, if not demonstrably coeval, is at least in "complete harmony with that later wall." It is further suggested by Mr. Haverfield that "there were "two walls, one before the other," and this idea has been held by many people who accept Spartian's testimony to the effect that Hadrian and Severus each built a wall across the Island from sea to sea. It is extremely improbable that a great system, or rather set of systems, of fortifications like those which we group under the name "Roman Wall," sprang into being as the result of one man's mind, and it is more than probable that there were two or three distinct stages of its existence.

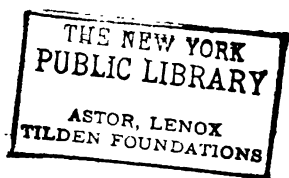
That there was an earth or turf wall across parts of the Island in British times is tolerably certain, for the Britons must have needed some defence against the Scots long before Hadrian came to England; as time went on such a wall was either repaired or rebuilt, or another made like it by the Romans, who probably made certain sections of it of stone, and finally there came along the Emperor—whoever he was—with his military engineers, who decided that an earth wall, or a rampart cased with turfs and protected by huge stakes of wood, was to all intents and purposes useless for keeping out the Picts and Scots, and ordered a stone wall, with stations, mile-castles, and turrets, to be built from one side of the Island to the other. In fact, a stone wall which should unite in itself all the advantages of Agricola's camps, and the old earth or turf wall, and of protected military ways, and which should be at the same time infinitely stronger and more effective than they all. The rebuilding of the stone bridge across the North Tyne was probably included in

¹ Mr. Sheriton Holmes is inclined to think that the later bridge was built about the time when Severus returned from his northern campaign, about 130 years after the time of Agricola. See *Arch. Æliana* vol. xvi., p. 333.



Statue of Cybele, the daughter of the sky and earth, the mother of the gods, the great World-mother ; she stands upon a bull, the emblem of ploughing and tillage of the earth.

[Found on the south-west corner of the Station at Cilurnum] [No. 14]



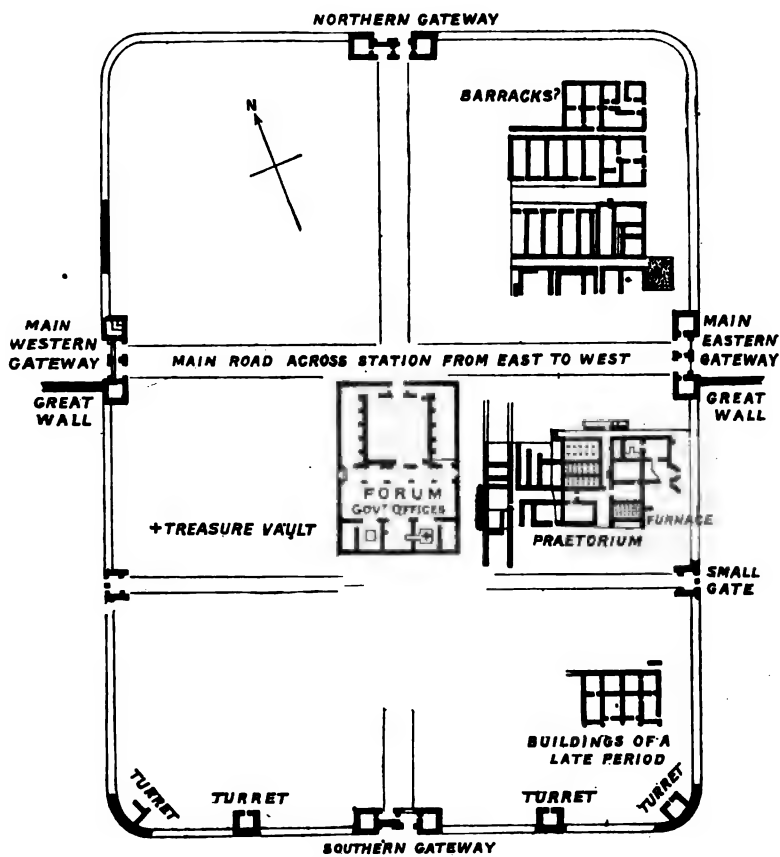
the scheme. There is reason to believe that many parts of the walls, whether made of earth or stone, built by the Romans in Northumbria were destroyed in places more than once during the Roman occupation and, as Mr. Gibson observes, "after each destruction the Romans "simply cleared away the rubbish and built the restored "Wall upon it. Consequently there are two or three "changes of level, and the earlier work is always the "best."¹ It is, therefore, tolerably clear that there must have been practically two or three walls built, but who built the first wall, and where, and when, are questions concerning which it is futile to put forth theories and suggestions until systematic excavations on a considerable scale have been carried out.

Returning to the Station at Chesters we find that, like the Station at Birdoswald, it had six gates, two on the east, two on the west, and one on the north and one on the south. Roman stations on the Wall have usually four gates, i.e., one in the centre of each wall, and are crossed by broad roads which bisect each other at right angles. The great Wall touches the Station at the southern tower of each of the two gates on the north side of the Wall, and it will be noticed that these gates are very much smaller than those on the north side of the Wall; it is also evident that there must have been two main streets crossing the Station from east to west. The larger pair of gates consisted of two arched openings which were separated from each other by a wall, and these openings together measured about twenty-two feet in width. The door of each opening was formed of two leaves, and turned upon iron pivots, which worked in hollows made in the stone casing; when closed they rested against a stone framework, and they were fastened by means of iron bars or bolts. The gateways outside the Wall at Chesters were of very great importance, for the soldiers in the southern towers, which were built over the guard-

¹ *Athenaeum*, No. 3849, August 3, 1901, p. 164.

chambers, would have at a great disadvantage an enemy attacking that portion of the Station which was outside the wall. A careful examination of the remains at Chesters convinced Mr. John Clayton that the Station must have fallen into the power of the enemy from time to time, and that when such was the case it suffered much at the hands of those who drove out the Romans from their garrison. Moreover, when the power of Rome began to wane, and it was impossible to man the Wall in full strength, the officers adopted the simple expedient of walling up, either partially or wholly, the gateways, so that the diminished garrisons might be able to hold their own against a brave and persistent foe. When they walled up the lower part of the gateway they took care to make a second floor, and the door, of course, had to be reduced in size or a new one made.

The most important of the buildings in the Station at Chesters was the FORUM, i.e., the open space of ground in a city, or town, or village, which was generally surrounded on all sides by buildings, both public and private, and which was used both as a market and a place for administering justice. In large cities a distinction was made between the Forum which was used for legal and administrative purposes, and that which was used as a market, but at a small place like a Roman station the local Forum would have to serve for all purposes. The Forum at Chesters had three gates, i.e., one each in its eastern, northern, and western sides, and the north gate was in a direct line with the north gateway of the Station. In the northern half of it was an open space which had a covered colonnade running round three of its sides, and the bases of the pillars which held up the roof, as well as some of the stones of the gutter, still remain *in situ*. In the colonnade were situated the small shops or stalls where the market produce of the neighbourhood was displayed, and where the wares of the local tailor, bootmaker, baker, and others were sold. The marks left by the wheels on the paving-stones of the



PLAN OF THE STATION OF CILURNUM (CHESTERS)
 SCALE ABOUT 80 FEET TO THE INCH

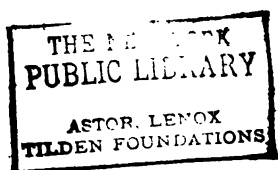
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eastern gateway of the Forum prove that goods were brought to market in carts, and that they came in on the east side of the Station. The well of the Forum was built in the north-west corner ; this was discovered by William Tailford during the summer of 1902. The diameter of the well is about five feet. At the southern end of the Forum were three large chambers, which were probably used as offices or courts for purposes of military administration. Mr. John Clayton and Dr. Bruce believed that the central chamber was used as an *aerarium* or treasury, and that all the financial affairs of the Station were transacted in it. In later times, when the hold of the Romans on the country was becoming precarious, a vault was built in a part of the central chamber and it occupied a portion of the chamber to the right of it ; herein, according to the above-mentioned authorities, was kept the treasure chest. Dr. Bruce and Mr. Henry Mac-Lauchlan called attention to the existence in the neighbourhood of Chesters of a report to the effect that under the ruins of the Station would be found stables capable of holding 500 horses, and when the country folk saw the vault which, it is thought, was built to protect the moneys of the Station, they were convinced that they would soon find the entrance to the underground stables of which they had heard. The local tradition is, of course, based upon the fact that the Station was in Roman times garrisoned by Asturian cavalry.

The next most important remains in the Station are those of the PRAETORIUM, that is to say, the quarters of the commander of Chesters. These were excavated by Mr. John Clayton in 1843. Within the Station wall, and south of the east gate, he found that "the surface of the "ground was somewhat elevated, and formed a green "knoll, which seemed to invite antiquarian research, and "on the application to this elevated spot of the pickaxe "and spade, the baths and Sudatorium of the station "were discovered. The removal of the earth on the west "side of the buildings disclosed the entrance by a flight of



View of the remains of the Western Main Gateway at Chesters.



“ steps, much worn by the feet of the passenger; these
 “ steps lead into a saloon or vestibule, from which
 “ passages diverge, to the right and left, into other apart-
 “ ments. In the room on the left hand was found, in good
 “ preservation, a Bath lined with red cement; beyond
 “ this are two apartments (apparently [forming] a Suda-
 “ torium), the floors of which are composed of two layers
 “ of flags, with a layer of red cement between them, and
 “ are supported on pillars three feet high; some of these
 “ pillars are of stone and others of square flat bricks. At
 “ the east end of the Sudatorium are the remains of the



Statue of the god or River-genius of the North Tyne.

[Found in the Bath-room at Cilurnum]

[No. 3]

“ furnaces, and the soot in the flues was found as fresh
 “ as if it had been produced by fires lighted the day
 “ before. In the room on the right hand of the saloon—
 “ which seems to have been more disturbed—there are
 “ less distinct remains of Baths, with flues communicating
 “ with them; but in the room beyond it (a Sudatorium) the
 “ floor of flags covered with plaster, and supported by
 “ pillars of stone two feet high, is preserved entire, though
 “ pressed down in some places by the weight which has
 “ been upon it. . . . In the room in which the Bath is

"was found the statue of a River-god." Close by were found a bronze fibula,¹ a massive silver signet ring, with a carnelian bezel engraved with the figure of a cock pecking at an ear of wheat, a bronze stylus, two ivory styli, two spear-heads, and fifty coins of various Emperors, from Hadrian down to Gratian.²

Other remains which may be mentioned are those of a series of chambers in the south-east corner, and in the north-east corner a portion of a street and ruins of barracks, which run east and west (D on the plan), with remains of chambers or small shops; before these, on



Tablet recording the building of an aqueduct at Cilurnum by the Second Ala of the Asturians under Marcellus, Proprietor.

[Found in the Barracks, in the north-east corner of the Station of Cilurnum]
[No. 36]

each side of the way, was a covered colonnade, the bases of the columns of which are still visible. All these buildings appear to be of a late date.

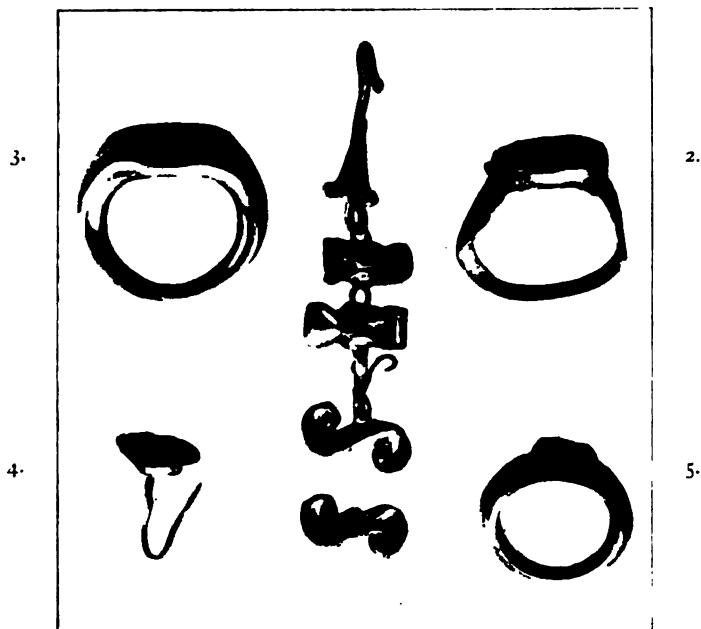
In June, 1879, Mr. John Clayton carried out a systematic excavation of the south gateway of the Station of Chesters, and laid bare its foundations, which are of a very interesting character. The plan of the gateway is similar to that

¹ No. 1155 in the Museum (Table-case B).

² See *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. iii., Old Series, p. 143 ff.

ROMAN JEWELLERY.

I.



1. Gold ear pendant. Found near the Southern Gateway at Borcovicus.
[No. 3222]
2. Gold signet ring set with an engraved blue stone. Found at Borcovicus.
[No. 3220]
3. Modern gold ring, set with an ancient carnelian bezel, engraved with a representation of a chariot race ; the bezel was found at Cilurnum in 1882.
[No. 3217]
4. Gold earring, set with a rectangular blue stone.
[No. 3221]
5. Silver ring, set with an engraved stone.
[No. 3218]

of Roman stations in general; but the gateway itself was an unusually large one, and the distance between the pivot holes of the door of each of the two entrances is 11 ft. 9 in., whereas at Borcovicus it is only 9 ft. 6 in.¹ The two entrances were separated by a wall which had a passage running through it, so that communication between the soldiers on guard was easy. Each entrance was closed by a door with two leaves, and each leaf was set in a stout post, on which it swung, and the post was shod with a band of iron. In this instance the iron cylinders were found sticking fast in the pivot holes, traces of the wood which they had encircled being found inside them. The upper pivot of the post worked in a hole that was bored completely through a stone fixed in the structure above. The leaves of the doors were studded with iron nails, and were fastened by means of iron bars; when closed they were kept in position by a stone frame which stood some three or four inches above the sill of the gateway. In clearing out these ruins, bones and horns of cattle and deer, and fragments of Samian ware and other pottery were found. In the eastern guard chambers the excavators came upon two layers of wood ashes, each three inches in thickness; the walls of both guard chambers seem to have been plastered, for large quantities of plaster painted in tempera in black, red, yellow, and brown were discovered among the broken stones and rubbish. A few bronze coins were brought to light, but they were in a very bad state of preservation; the earliest bore the name of Vespasian, and the latest that of Postumus. In the eastern chamber was seen a stone inscribed LEG VI VI,² i.e., "The Sixth Legion, the Victorious."

The most important of the results of the excavations was the discovery of two portions of a bronze tablet, inscribed in Latin with a text which conferred the privileges of Roman citizenship and the right of marriage upon certain troops then serving in Britain; these valuable objects were

¹ See Bruce, *Arch. Aeliana*, vol. viii., p. 211.

² LEGIO SEXTA VICTRIX.

found in the eastern guard-room, amongst the broken stones and rubbish, about four feet above the level of the original floor. As soon as the fragments of bronze were brought to Mr. Clayton by William Tailford, who actually took them out of the ground, he at once recognized that they belonged to the class of documents which are generally called *Tabulae Honestae Missionis* because they formed certificates of good conduct for discharged soldiers, and as they carried with them the gift of citizenship and the right to marry, they were greatly coveted by Roman troops. One document of the kind, the earliest, was found at Malpas, in Cheshire, in 1812, and bears a date which shows that it was issued by Trajan, A.D. 104; a second was found in a gravel pit on Sydenham Common in 1806, and bears a date which shows that it was issued by Trajan, A.D. 106; a third was found at the Lawns, near Rivington, in Yorkshire, in 1761, and bears a date which shows that it was issued by Hadrian A.D. 124; and a fragment of a fourth was found at Walcot, near Bath, in 1815. The tablets, or "Military Diplomas," as they are now commonly called, issued by Trajan and Hadrian mentioned above, are preserved in the British Museum, and when the portions of the "Chesters Diploma" had been cleaned, and the inscriptions upon them carefully copied, Mr. John Clayton generously presented them also to that institution, where they are now exhibited in the large room at the top of the main staircase. That, however, the Chesters Diploma may be represented in the Chesters Museum, Mrs. Clayton instructed Mr. Augustus Reade, of the British Museum, to prepare a metal facsimile of it, and this will be found in Table-case B; for a full description of it the reader is referred to page 129 ff.

Between the south gateway and the Forum there stood three or more rectangular buildings, the use of which is unknown; on the south wall of the Station also are the remains of two rectangular buildings, the purpose of which is not quite clear.

On the 17th of July, 1882, during the course of the

excavation of one of the buildings near the south-west corner of the Station of Chesters, was found a metal ring set with the engraved carnelian stone of which an enlarged drawing is given below ; the substance of which the ring was made appears to have been either bronze or some soft metallic composition, and as a result it crumbled into fragments so small that, owing to their friable nature, it was impossible to re-unite them. It is probable that when new the ring was coated either with gold or silver. The stone with which it was set was found to be, to all intents and purposes, uninjured, and a careful examination of the engraving upon it showed that the subject which the artist had attempted to represent was a chariot race.



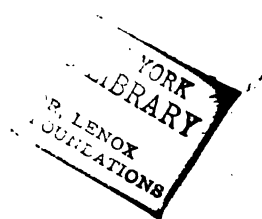
Gem engraved with a scene representing a chariot race.

In the upper part of the scene we have the *spina*, that is to say, an oblong tank of water which was placed there for the purpose of watering the arena, and in the middle of it stands the obelisk said to have been set there by Augustus ; on one side of it is the statue

of Cybele sitting upon a lion, and on the other is a god, whom Professor Hübner thought to be Hercules. By the side of Cybele are four dolphins, on a slab supported by two columns, one of the arrangements by which, after the model of the Stadium at Olympia, the number of "heats" run in each race was indicated. By the side of the statue of Hercules (?) is another small slab, likewise supported on two columns, whereon are four eggs, and close by is a figure of Victory on a column. At each end of the *spina* is a human figure typical, probably, of a prisoner ; to the right and left of the *spina* are the *metae*, or goals, round which the chariots had to turn in their seven-fold races. On the lower part of the gem are the four chariots, each

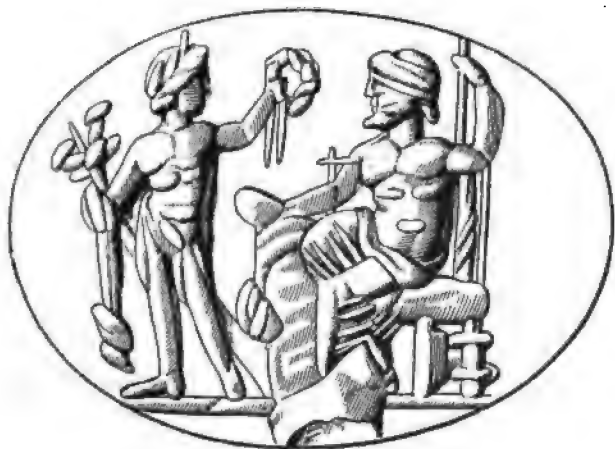


View of the remains of the Roman Villa at Chesters.



drawn by four horses, which are taking part in the "heat." The whole scene is intended to represent the Circus Maximus at Rome "in the very heat of a grand race—the Derby of the times."¹

About the year 1888, during the course of the excavations which were being carried on in the ruins of the buildings in the north-east corner of the Station, Mr. W. Tailford found the engraved carnelian bezel of a ring, of which a drawing the exact size of the object and an enlargement of the design are given herewith. The seated figure is the god Jupiter, and the figure which stands before him and holds out to him in his left hand a crown, is thought to be that of Mars. The ring in which the stone was set was probably made of some base metal, which has perished under the influence of oxidization.



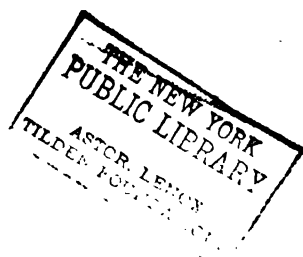
Passing now from the Station towards the river we find at a very short distance from the stream an extremely interesting group of buildings, which were discovered accidentally by some workmen who were making a drain

¹ See the remarks by the Rev. H. J. Richmond, the Rev. C. W. King, John Clayton, and Professor Hübner in *Arch. .El.*, vol. x., p. 133 ff.

from the camp to the river. It will be seen that the buildings face the river, and it has been suggested with some show of probability that they formed the private residence of the Roman officer who was in command at Chesters. At the north-east corner of the remains is a large court, which is admirably represented in the illustration on page 109; it measures 45 feet by about 30 feet, and had walls on each side of it. On the western side are seven niches, with circular arches, the use of which is unknown; some think that they were intended to hold statues of the seven days of the week, others think that they were intended to hold the clothes of bathers, and many suggestions as to their purpose have been made. The niches are 1 foot 6 in. from back to front, 2 feet wide, and 3 feet high to the inside of the arched top, which is formed of one stone over each recess. The building seems to have been well warmed throughout, for several of the hypocausts are still in existence, and this fact, taken in connexion with the arrangements which appear to have been made for bringing in and carrying away a large quantity of water, has led many to suppose that the whole block was used as a bath-house. In any case, the bath must have formed a prominent section of the buildings, for several of the cisterns and a portion of a fountain are now to be found in the ruins. In the smaller of the long narrow rooms an altar, dedicated by Venenus, a German, to the goddess Fortuna, was discovered. On the west side is an interesting chamber with a circular bay, in which will be seen a splayed opening, or window, about four feet wide; outside this window Dr. Bruce found some fragments of Roman window glass, which was cloudy on one side and clear on the other, and he accounted for this peculiarity by saying that the Roman made the molten glass into sheets by pouring it out upon flat stones. When we consider that glass windows were known to the Romans at a comparatively early period, and that in the tepidarium of the public baths at Pompeii a bronze lattice, with glass panes still remaining in it, has been discovered,



Altar dedicated to Fortuna Conservatrix by Venenus, a German.
 [From Cilurnum] [No. 47]



there is no need to feel surprised at the existence of window glass at Chesters in the IInd or IIIrd Century of our era. During the clearing out of the adjoining chamber, thirty-three human skeletons, and the skeletons of two horses and a dog were found, and it has been suggested that they represent the result of some massacre which took place when the northern enemy captured these buildings. An examination of the group of buildings¹

¹ The following extracts from the account of this building by Mr. Sheriton Holmes (see *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xii., p. 124 ff.) will be of interest. The building consists of "from twelve to thirteen rooms. It is situated "between the eastern side of the Camp and the river North Tyne, "and the walls remain from 2 to 12 feet high. Generally the doorways "communicating between the rooms can be seen, and at some of them "the stone slabs which lined the walls at each side remain intact; "there is only the lower portion of one window remaining. . . . As "the buildings have, apparently, been erected at different dates, and "out of previously used materials, and have been otherwise altered in "many ways, it is probable that after the Romans ceased their occupation they were used for shelter by the inhabitants of the country, who "had lighted fires against the walls at points below the level of the "original hypocaust or flued floors. At the places where these fires "had been, the stones have been deeply burnt, and have crumbled or "fallen away to the depth of a foot or fifteen inches. . . . At the eastern "end of the room [with the seven niches] there has been added some "masonry of a totally different character from any in other parts of "the building, consisting of a casing wall, with counterforts composed "of large stones, similar to those of which the two bridges have been "built, and which have lewis holes cut in them. The foundation of "this portion of the building is on quicksand and deep loam, and it "is probable that shrinkage of the building had taken place in consequence, and that this additional masonry had been built to support "it at the time when the later bridge works were in progress, or with "some unused material prepared for that structure." Mr. Holmes decided that these buildings formed a set of baths, and that the seven niches had been used to hold the clothes of the bathers. And "as "the end opening nearest the corridor has holes in the stone, indicative "of its having been closed by a door, it is probable that in it were "kept the olive oil and spices used in the anointing before bathing."

From the above paragraphs and from the Chapter on the Clayton Collection (see above, pp. 26-75) the reader will see that the number of the antiquities, both large and small, which have been found within Cilurnum is very great, and this fact proves that the Station was one of the oldest and most important of the twenty-three Stations "on the line of the Vallum" which are enumerated in the "Notitia Dignitatum," (see p. 283). It is evident that when Agricola was conducting his successful campaigns in Northumbria, he would take steps to make secure a passage for his troops across the North Tyne, and as the guardian of his bridge across that river the Station of Cilurnum, which he no doubt founded, held a very important position in the line of Roman fortifications. The monuments which remain prove that

mentioned above will convince the visitor that all its various chambers were not built at the same time; the earliest, however, are probably as old as the second century, and the latest must be more recent than the fourth century.

The Cemetery was situated to the south, a little below the Station, between the old Roman road and the river.



Sepulchral Cippus.

[Found in the south-west corner of the Station at Cilurnum] [No. 11.]

at the place where the stream makes a bend to the left, which in Horsley's days was called "Ox Close."

the population which lived in and about Cilurnum was considerable, and there is no doubt that, as far as was possible under the circumstances, the officers made the Station to resemble a small Roman military town. That so much of this town has been rescued from oblivion is owed entirely to the careful excavations which have been made at Chesters during the last sixty years.



Stone stele recording the restoration of a building by Marius Valerianus and Septimius Nilus in the reign of Elagabalus, A.D. 221.
 [Found in the south-west corner of the Station at Cilurnum in 1798] [No. 13]

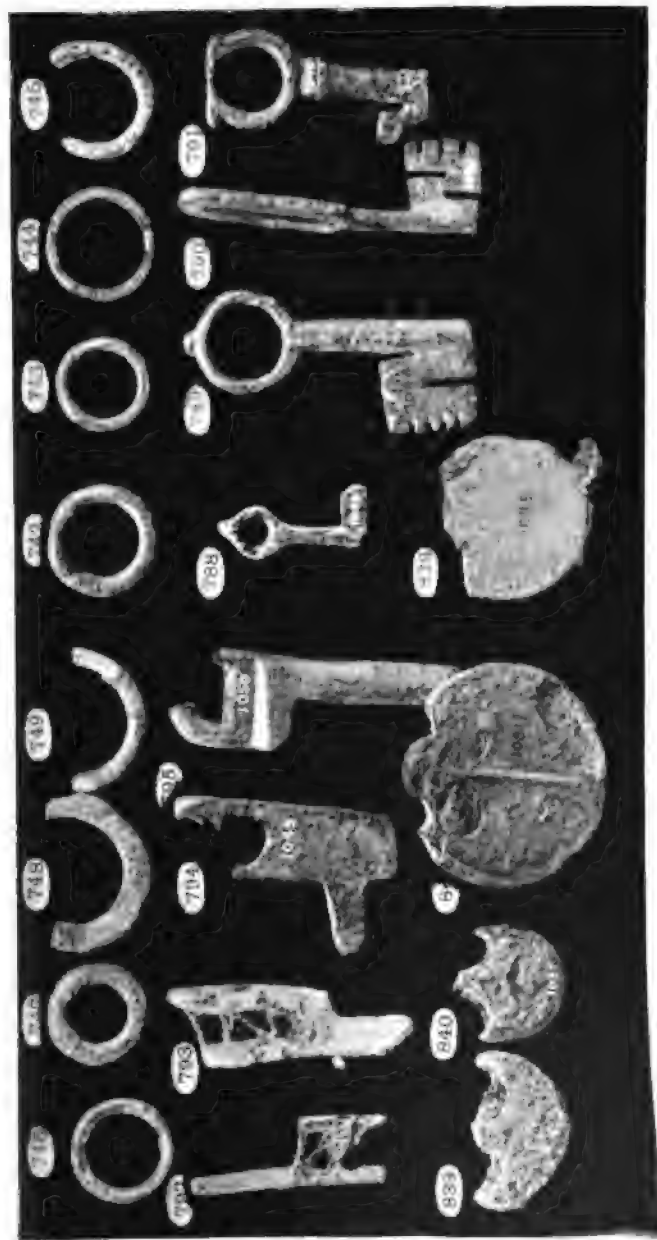
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The survey of the Roman Wall which was made by Mr. Henry MacLauchlan for Algernon, fourth Duke of Northumberland, proves beyond all doubt that the famous old Roman road, now generally known as the "Stane-gate," ran through the present park at Chesters. That portion of it which passed through the grounds has been obliterated for some time, but its line "is still traceable, " and some trees are yet growing along its course, which "appears to have run close to the west front of the " station, and that part of it, about 350 yards south of the " station, ran in line with the gateway of the south front, " till it came within about 175 yards of it, when it turned " off towards the west front. Whether this part was ever " continued on towards the south gate it is impossible to " say, but it seems probable, and that the whole line of " this old road, from Walwick Grange, was made on what " was originally the Roman Way, which may have crossed " the brook at Walwick Grange, and joined that branch " from the westward, known as the 'Stane-gate,' near the " ancient cross or pillar at Homer's Lane."¹ If the traveller wished to go on eastwards he passed from Howford by Acomb and Anick to Corbridge, and thence by the *Ald-he-way*² to Newcastle; if he wished to go westwards to Carlisle, he turned off from Homer's Lane at a place near the cross or pillar which stands by the side of the road, and which was thought by the Rev. John Hodgson to mark the "Cross-acre" of the Chartulary of Hexham. This cross or pillar was removed about the year 1800 to the place which it occupied in Mr. MacLauchlan's time, from a spot about half way between its present position and the river. When it was taken up a key was found to be embedded in the clay, under the centre of the block of stone in which the shaft is mortised. When the pillar was removed the key was again placed under it, but "some curiosity having been excited about

¹ Hodgson, *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 411; MacLauchlan, *Memoir*, p. 28.

² See Hodgson, *ibid.*, p. 282.

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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS



Group of bronze rings, keys, sheath ends, etc., from Cilurnum (Chesters).

[Table-case B.]

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ART AND
ARCHITECTURE
NEW YORK



Group of bronze rings, bands, spear heads (?), enamelled bosses, dog, etc., from Cilurnum (Chesters).
[Table-case B.]



The following transcripts of the duplicate texts were made by him, and were first printed by Dr. Bruce in *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. viii., p. 217.

I. (inside text).

imp caes divi HADRIANI f divi trajani part n
divi nervae PRON T Aelius hadrianus an
TONINUS aug PIUS pont max tr pot viiii
imp ii COS iii p p
EQ ET PED qui mil in al iii et coh xi q a aug
GAL PROC ET I et i hisp astur et i
CELT ET I HISP ET i ael dacor et i ael classica
ET I FID ET II GALL et ii et vi nervior et iii
BRAC ET IIII LING et iii gallor et sunt in
BRITTAN SUB PAPIRIO aeliano quinque et vig stip
EMERIT M HON MISSIONE quorum nomina subscripta
SUNT C R QUI EORUM non haberent dedit et
CONUB CUM UXORIBUS quas tunc habuissent
CUM EST CIV IIS data
.

II. (outside text).

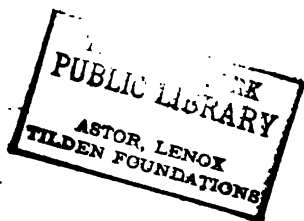
imp CAESAR DIVI HADRIANI F DIVI
trajani PART NEPOS DIVI NERVAE PRO
nep t AELIUS HADRIANUS ANTONINUS
aug pius PONT MAX TR POT VIIII IMP II COS IIII
p p equit et PEDIT QUI MILITAVIT IN ALIS III
et cohort XI QUAE APPELL AUG GALL PROCUL ET I
. ET I HISP ASTUR ET I CELTIB
et i hisp et i AELIA DACOR ET I AELIA
CLASSICA et i fid VARD ET II GALLOR ET II ET
VI NERVIOR et iii BRAC ET IIII LING ET IIII GALL
ET SUNT IN BRITANNIA SUB PAPIRIO AELI
ANO QUINQUE et viginti STIPEND EMERIT
.

An expanded version of the text is the following :—

IMPERATOR CAESAR, DIVI HADRIANI FILIUS, DIVI
TRAJANI PARTHICI NEPOS, DIVI NERVAE PRONEPOS, TITUS



The "Chesters Diploma."



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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

ÆLIUS HADRIANUS ANTONINUS AUGUSTUS PIUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, TRIBUNITIA POTESTATE VIII, IMPERATOR II., CONSUL III., PATER PATRIÆ.

EQUITIBUS ET PEDITIBUS QUI MILITAVERUNT IN ALIS III ET COHORTIS XI QUÆ APPELLANTUR AUGUSTA GALLORUM PROCULEIANA ET I ET I HISPANORUM ASTURUM ET I CELTIBERORUM ET I HISPANORUM ET I AELIA DACORUM ET I AELIA CLASSICA ET I FIDA [VARDULLORUM] ET II GALLORUM ET II ET VI NERVIORUM ET III BRACARIORUM ET III LINGORUM ET III GALLORUM ET SUNT IN BRITANNIA SUB PAPIRIO AELIANO QUINQUE ET VIGINTI STIPENDIIS EMERITIS MISSIS HONESTA MISSIONE.

QUORUM NOMINA SUBSCRIPTA SUNT CIVITATEM ROMANAM QUI EORUM NON HABERENT DEDIT ET CONUBIUM. CUM UXORIBUS QUAS TUNC HABUISSENT CUM EST CIVITAS IIS DATA [AUT CUM IIS QUAS POSTEA POSSIDENT DUMTAXAT SINGULIS.]

In the first paragraph are enumerated the names and titles of the Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, "the father of his country," chief priest, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan styled Parthicus, great-grandson of the deified Nerva, who at the time when the bronze tablet was inscribed had been invested with the tribunitian power for the ninth time, and had been declared imperator for the second time, and consul for the fourth time.

In the second and third paragraphs it is decreed that the cavalry and infantry in three *alae* and eleven cohorts, who have completed twenty-five campaigns, and who have obtained an honourable discharge, and who do not already possess them, shall have the rights of Roman citizenship, and also of marriage with the wives whom they may have when citizenship is granted unto them, and if any be unmarried, with those wives whom they may hereafter take, provided that each man take one wife only. The document is incomplete, unfortunately, but all that is wanting is the

day of the month on which the decree was promulgated, and the names of the consuls for the year. It is known that the year in which Antoninus Pius possessed the tribunitian power for the ninth time, and was imperator a second time, and consul a fourth time was A.D. 146, and that is therefore the date of the above decree. The three *alae* and the eleven cohorts mentioned in it are as follows :—

The *Ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana*.

The First *Ala*

The First *Ala* of the Spanish Asturians.

The First Cohort of the Celtiberians.

The First Cohort of Spaniards.

The First Cohort of Dacians, styled the *Aelian*.

The First Cohort of Marines, styled the *Aelian*.

The First Cohort of Vardulli, surnamed the "Faithful."

The Second Cohort of the Gauls.

The Second Cohort of the Nervii.

The Sixth Cohort of the Nervii.

The Third Cohort of the Bracarrians.

The Fourth Cohort of the Lingones.

The Fourth Cohort of the Gauls.

The document briefly described above belongs to a small but extremely interesting class of antiquities which are of importance for the history of the Roman occupation of Britain ; that it was greatly prized by its recipient goes without saying, for the gift of Roman citizenship was one of the greatest which could be bestowed upon foreigners. A comparatively large number¹ of "diplomas of citizenship" have been found in the countries which at one time formed provinces of the Roman empire, but before the discovery of the Chesters Diploma only three tolerably complete ones had been unearthed in England, and a fragment of a fourth. The oldest was written in the reign

¹ About sixty have been found ; fourteen in Italy, fifteen in Pan-
nonia, three in Germany, six in Dacia, one in Gaul, four in Britain,
etc. See Mommsen, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. iii., and
Bruce, *Lapidarium*, p. 3.

of Trajan, A.D. 104, and was found at Malpas in Cheshire; a second, which also was written in the reign of Trajan, A.D. 106, was found at Sydenham; a third, which was written in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 124, was found at Rivington, in Yorkshire; a fragment of a fourth, which was written in the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 146, was found at Walcot.¹

The Roman military diploma usually consisted of a bronze tablet, upon each side of which was inscribed the decree of citizenship, and as such a thing was inconvenient to carry or wear, on account of its size and rigidity, it was usually bent in the middle, and the two ends were brought close together and held in that position by a leather thong which passed through holes made at the corners. Originally the decree was inscribed on one side only, but it seems that when it became the fashion for men to wear their diplomas, the text of the decree was repeated on the other side of the tablet; thus if the text on the outside of the tablet when folded became obliterated, reference could be made to its duplicate inside. It is interesting to note that the texts are inscribed at right angles to each other, and that whereas the inscription, which is intended to be seen by everyone, is well and carefully executed, its duplicate usually contains many contractions, and is poorly written. In the earliest times the Romans divided the people both in and out of their country into two classes, namely, Cives, or citizens, and Peregrini, or strangers; the former possessed the undoubted right to marry, and to trade and barter, and to exercise the privilege of merchants to go about at will, but the latter enjoyed none of these rights. Later the people were divided into three classes, i.e. Cives, Latini, and Peregrini; the second class, the Latini, enjoyed the power to travel about as merchants, but not the right of marriage.

¹ This is described by Bruce in his paper "*Account of the excavation of the Station of Cilurnum*," printed in *Arch. æl.*, vol. viii. 219.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ROMAN BRIDGE AT CHESTERS.¹

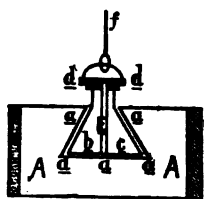
THE remains of the Roman bridge across the North Tyne at Cilurnum, the Sixth Station on the line of the Vallum, are nearly half a mile lower down the river than Chollerford Bridge, by which modern travellers cross the stream. These remains have been known to nearly all the great antiquaries who have lived during the last three hundred years, and many of them have given descriptions of them. Camden, writing in 1599, mentions the bridge, but appears to have been too much afraid of the rough manners of the inhabitants of the country to venture to visit it; Stukely, who travelled with Roger Gale in 1725, speaks of a "wonderful bridge of great art, "made with very large stones linked together with "iron cramps fastened with molten lead"; Gordon, the Scottish antiquary, speaks of the bridge in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, which appeared in 1726; Horsley (1732) refers to its "foundations which are yet visible"; and Brand (1783) waded in the stream and found "innumerable square stones with holes in them, wherein iron "rivets had been fixed, lying embedded on the spot." The Rev J. Hodgson examined the remains of the bridge minutely, and found "that many of the stones of the piers "remaining in the water were regularly pierced with an "oblong hole wider at the bottom than at the top, plainly

¹ See the paper by Mr. John Clayton in *Archaeologia Eliana*, vol. vi., New Series, p. 80 ff.

“for a lous¹ by which they had been let down into their “present beds”; he also discovered some of the iron cramps by which the stones were bound to each other. A plan of the remains of the bridge, visible in the bed of the stream, consisting of the foundation stones of the western land abutment, and of two piers at equal distances from each other, was published by Dr. Bruce in his *Roman Wall*. The position of the remains of the eastern land abutment was discovered by Mr. William Coulson, of Corbridge, in the spring of the year 1860. In shape and plan it corresponds with that suggested by Dr. Bruce, but it lies farther back from the stream than he imagined.

Mr. Clayton's description of the Bridge is as follows:—
 “The whole span of the Bridge, between the breastworks
 “of the land abutments on each side of the river, is
 “180 feet; there are four openings between the piers,
 “and the space between each of the openings is $35\frac{1}{2}$
 “feet. There is an apartment, 24 feet by $23\frac{1}{2}$, under
 “the platform of approach, and the roadway brought
 “down to the bridge (including the parapets) is 22 feet
 “wide, and it is brought down to the bridge under the
 “shelter of the Roman Wall. Five courses of the
 “masonry of this abutment remain on the side which
 “breasts the downward current of the stream; on the
 “opposite side four courses remain; each course is

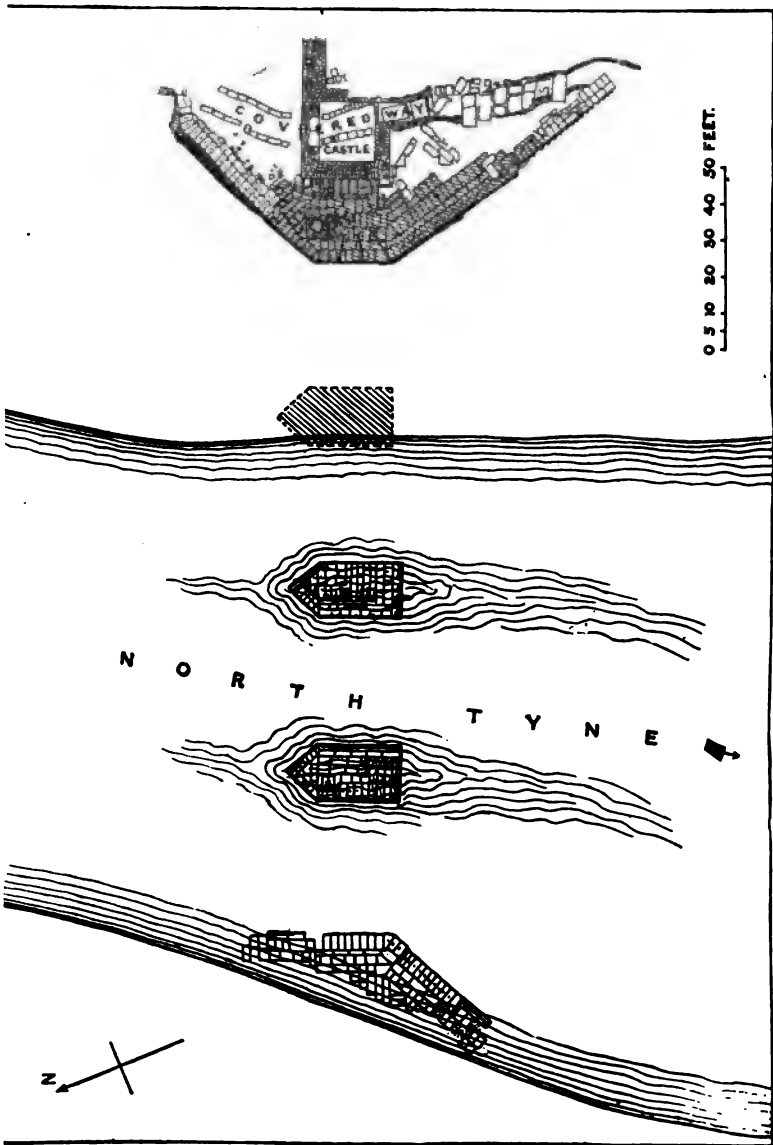
¹ More correctly spelt “lewis,” or “lewison,” i.e. an instrument of iron used in raising large, heavy stones to the upper part of a building. It operates by the dovetailing of one of its ends into an opening in the stone, so formed that no vertical force can detach it. Let A be a stone to be lifted and aaaaaa a cavity cut in it; b and c are two moveable pieces of iron perforated at their heads to receive the bolt dd. When b and c have been placed in the cavity in the stone in such a way that there is a space between them, the piece of wood or iron e is pushed down between them, with the result that b and c are thrust against the sides of the cavity aaaaaa. When the power employed



for lifting the stone is applied at f, the stone is raised without difficulty. A common name for the instrument nowadays is “plug and feathers.”

"18 inches in thickness. All the stones of the exterior
 "bear marks of having been carefully set with the lous,
 "and in each of them is a lous hole, and many are
 "bound together with iron cramps and melted lead.
 "some of them have been bound together by long rods
 "of iron let into the stones and secured with molten lead.
 "These stones measure 3 feet in length of bed, and 2 feet
 "in breadth. The masonry is altogether of a very massive
 "character, and the whole has been executed with great
 "care and skill. . . . Surrounded by the masonry, are
 "seen the foundations of the pier of a bridge of much
 "smaller dimensions, and apparently of earlier date.
 "This feature of the remains was imperfectly understood.
 "till subjected to the test of the experienced skill of our
 "brother antiquary Mr. Richard Cail, and explained by
 "him. This ancient pier, from its position, must neces-
 "sarily have been erected before the Roman Wall was
 "built or planned; its dimensions would scarcely admit
 "of a superstructure wider than would be required
 "for the march of foot soldiers, and its existence
 "would seem to afford evidence in support of the
 "hypothesis, that the station of Cilurnum was one
 "of the fortresses reared by the legions under the com-
 "mand of Julius Agricola. The station of Cilurnum has
 "evidently had an existence anterior to, and independent
 "of, the Wall of Hadrian. Whilst the stations of
 "Procolitia, Borcovicus, and Æsica depend on the Wall
 "of Hadrian for their northern rampart, the station of
 "Cilurnum is complete in itself, and has had communica-
 "tions independent of the military way which accom-
 "panied the wall. In the time of Horsley 'there were
 "'visible remains of a military way which seemed to have
 "'come from Watling Street, south of Risingham, to the
 "'station of Cilurnum, or the bridge beside it, and from
 "'this station,' says Horsley, 'a military way has gone
 "'directly to Caervorran,¹ which is still visible for the

¹ This name is said to mean "The Maiden Fort"; see W. Bainbridge, in *Arch. Æl.*, vol. iv., Old Series, p. 52.



Remains of the Roman Bridges across the North Tyne near Chollerford.
 [Drawn from the plan made by Mr. Robert Elliot and Mr. Henry Wilson, published with Mr. John Clayton's paper in
Archæologia Æliana, vol. vi., p. 86, ff.]



" 'greater part of the way,' and this military way has in
 " our day been distinctly traced by that able surveyor and
 " accurate observer, Mr. Maclaughlin [*sic*]. Agricola secured
 " the possession of the Valley of North Tyne by planting
 " in its gorge the fortress of Cilurnum, and, amongst
 " other communications with it, threw a bridge across the
 " Tyne, of which this pier is the only remnant. The
 " piers corresponding with it in the bed of the stream have
 " either been washed away, or absorbed in the stone-
 " work of the piers of the larger bridge built by Hadrian,
 " obviously in connection with the Wall. In the drawings
 " of the ruins by Mr. Mossman and Mr. Henry Richardson
 " will be observed the remains of a covered passage, which
 " has been carried across the ruins. It is not easy to
 " conjecture its use, but it is obviously of a date posterior
 " to the Roman occupation of the country, and many of
 " the stones of the bridge have been used in its formation.
 " Neither amongst these ruins nor in the bed of the river
 " have been found the voussures of an arch. The infer-
 " ence is, that the passage over the river has been upon a
 " horizontal platform."

During the excavation a considerable number of coins
 were found. The earliest is a coin of Caius Cassius, the
 assassin of Julius Caesar, which is said to be rare ; besides
 this a silver coin of Julia Domna, and several brass coins
 of Hadrian, Diocletian, the Constantine family, and
 Tetricus, were brought to light. Among other things the
 workmen unearthed a number of lead and iron clamps,
 which were used for binding the stones together ; a solid
 piece of lead in the shape of a horse's hoof ; a well-
 finished, but uninscribed stone altar ; a stone, about four
 feet long, resembling an axle-tree, having its greatest
 circumference in the middle, and diminishing at each end ;
 several mill-stones, an ivory instrument, which seems to
 have belonged to a lady's toilet, and many fragments of
 Samian ware. According to Dr. Bruce, the main portion
 of the bridge was the work of Hadrian. The facing-stones
 are broached in a peculiar way, and he thought that this

method of broaching was characteristic of the reign of Severus; examples of it occur at Habitancium, where Severus and his sons repaired a wall and gate, and at Hexham and Bremenium, and, in short, through the whole line of Watling Street. Dr. Bruce also thought that the facing-stones which were thus broached might represent a part of the work of restoration which Severus seems to have carried out.

The remains of the bridges described above by Mr. John Clayton were subjected to a close examination by Mr. Sheriton Holmes, who makes the following remarks (*Arch. Æl.*, vol. xvi., p. 328 ff.):—

Where the line of the Roman works crosses the North Tyne river there are the remains of two bridges, both of them evidently of Roman construction. The later one consisted of an abutment at each end and three water piers, thus giving four water bays or openings of thirty-five feet six inches span. The parallel faces of the abutment and the piers are twenty-one feet six inches long, and the breadth across the piers sixteen feet. The piers are flat-ended on the down-stream side, but have starlings or cut-waters on the upper side. The eastern abutment has had very long and massive wing-walls, the southern one having been lengthened considerably, doubtless to provide against a set of the current tending to carry away the river's bank at its previous termination. The river at this point has altered its course from time to time in a westerly direction, so that now the eastern abutment and a portion of the first pier are deeply buried in its bank, and the western abutment is in the bed of the stream. But this action of the river had been in operation previous to the time when this bridge was built, for imbedded in its eastern abutment is a water pier of an earlier bridge, which must have had at least one bay or opening to the east of it, so that between the times when the two bridges were built the river had altered its course to that extent westward. The roadway along the earlier bridge had been much less in width

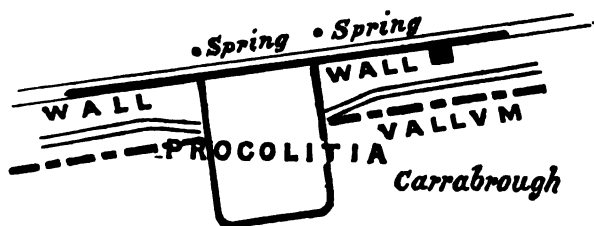
than that along the later one, its pier faces being only 9 ft. 4 in. long with a width of 10 ft. 4 in. The earlier bridge had starlings both up and down stream, diverging from the pier faces at an angle of forty-five degrees. It is deserving of note, and unique in my knowledge of bridges, that these piers should be less in length than their breadth across; but as the bridge had doubtless a timber platform, the beams supporting it would require to be cantilevered by others underneath them to give rigidity, and the breadth of the pier would be necessary to afford a sufficient length of base for them. Mr. Holmes thought that the masonry of the later bridge was not "nearly so well bonded by snecking and breaking joint with the stones in the earlier one," and that the builders of the first bridge were in advance of the later workmen because of the systematic dovetailed cramps of good form which they let into the stones which they used instead of the "long iron-face straps with T-headed branches running in a sort of haphazard manner into the work." The work of the second bridge was of a ruder character than that of the first. Mr. Holmes rejects Dr. Bruce's view that the facing-stones of the abutment of the later bridge might have been an addition by Severus to what Dr. Bruce termed Hadrian's work, and thinks that the casing is an "initial part of the second structure, and coeval with the added work of the piers where the same long iron clamps have been used." The existing evidence indicates that the earlier bridge was built before the Great Wall, and that the later bridge was made during the reign of Severus. The very pertinent remarks of Mr. Holmes on the subject are as follows:—"Then as to the date of erection of the later bridge, it seems unlikely that during the short period between Agricola and Hadrian (about 40 years) the river had time to alter its course a distance of sixty feet from its former line, as it has taken 1700 years since the departure of the Romans to perform an equal distance in the same direction. When Severus returned

“from his Northern campaign, about 130 years after the
“time of Agricola, would appear to be a much more
“likely time for the river so to have changed its course
“and for the later bridge to have been built. The
“Roman Wall would seem to have been a later work
“than the earlier of the two bridges, for the eastern abut-
“ment must (as previously explained) have occupied its
“site. The *castellum* commanding the later bridge seems
“to be yet a later work than the Wall.”

CHAPTER VII.

DISCOVERY OF THE WELL OF THE GODDESS
COVENTINA AT CARRAWBURGH (PROCOLITIA).¹

THE Roman station of Procolitia lies about three and a half miles to the west of Chesters (Cilurnum), and its northern rampart was formed by the Roman Wall; on the western side of the station, about one hundred and fifty yards distant from the rampart, and one hundred yards distant from the southern face of the Wall, the

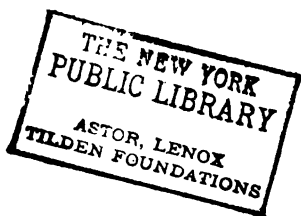


Plan of the Station at Procolitia (Carrawburgh, or Carrabrough), showing how the Great Wall forms its northern boundary.

Well of the goddess Coventina is situated. This Well was known to John Horsley who, in his "*Britannia Romana*,"² published in 1732, after referring to the remains of buildings to the west of Procolitia, adds the following passage :—"about a year ago they discovered a "well. It is a good spring, and the receptacle for the

¹ See John Clayton, *Description of Roman remains discovered near to Procolitia, a Station on the Wall of Hadrian*. Read 2nd December, 1876. *Archæologia Eliana*, vol. viii., p. 1 ff.

² P. 145.



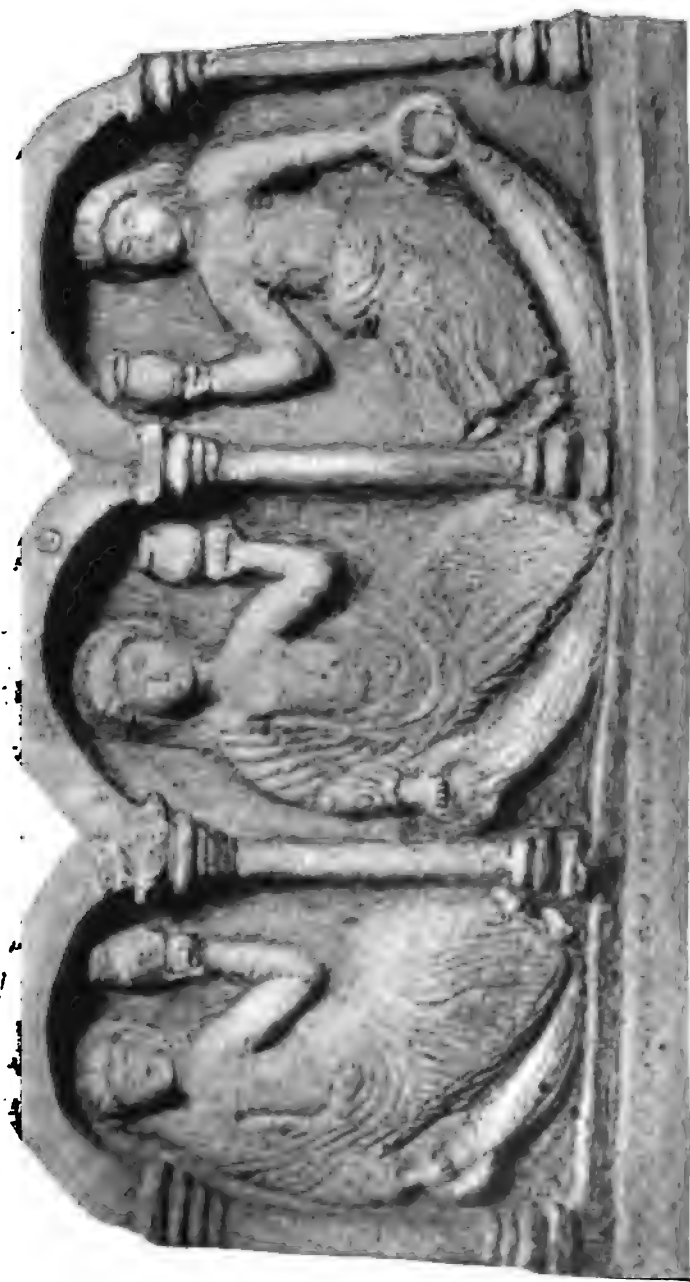
Some miners digging on the site of the well, either with the view of finding out the cause of the failure of the water supply, or of discovering a new vein of metal, came across several courses of stones, which they rightly thought belonged to some building, and forthwith relinquished their quest. In the summer of 1876 Mr. Clayton decided that the courses of masonry which they had uncovered must be a part of the well which Horsley had described, and in October began the work of excavation of the site. As a result an underground structure of massive masonry, measuring 8 ft. 6 in. by 7 ft. 9 in. by 7 ft., was found, and in it was a most miscellaneous collection of objects. "Within¹ a foot of the surface "the excavator in digging down came upon a mass of "copper coins, many of them of the debased metal of the "lower Empire, and a human skull, the concave part "upwards, filled with coins. He then began to meet "with altars, and fragments of bowls of Samian ware, and "glass, and bones of animals, and at the depth of about "three feet found two elaborate vases of earthenware, "both bearing inscriptions, and a sculptured stone representing three Naiads, or water-nymphs. He had then "come upon copper coins, of superior metal, of the "higher Empire, which continued, with an admixture of "the inferior coins of the lower Empire, to the bottom. "He met with the head of a statue, and with "other vases without inscriptions, and with brooches, "rings, beads, dice, and other objects Going "still lower, the excavator continued to find altars, and "nearly at the bottom he met with a massive votive "tablet, dedicated to the goddess Coventina by Titus "Domitius Cosconianus, a Roman military prefect, in "command of the First Cohort of Batavian Auxiliaries. "The lettering of this tablet is of the best character, "and Professor Hübner, who from his learning and "experience is entitled to decide, whilst others hesitate, pronounces this tablet to be of the date of Antoninus Pius,

¹ I quote from Mr. Clayton's paper.

"A.D. 140 This tablet is inscribed to a goddess whose
 "name is unrecorded on the roll of Roman divinities. On
 "it the goddess is represented as floating on the leaf of a
 "gigantic water-lily, and waving in her right hand a
 "branch of palm or of some other tree. On one of the
 "altars, described below, she is called *Dea Nympha*, and
 "it is therefore clear that this goddess was a water deity,
 "which is confirmed by the representation of her attendants
 "on the sculpture here shown of the three *Naiads*, each
 "of them raising in one hand a goblet, and in the other
 "holding a flagon from which is poured a stream of
 "water, and by the existence of a well or reservoir for
 "water within the walls of her temple. Whether the
 "goddess *Coventina* was a British goddess, or a goddess
 "imported by the Roman soldiers, is a question not easily
 "decided, nor can any satisfactory derivation be found
 "for her name. She was probably a local deity to whose
 "name a Roman termination has been given, as in the
 "case of the god of the *Brigantes* *Cocidius*, for whose
 "name we do not attempt to find a derivation. It has
 "been suggested, from a quarter entitled to weight,¹ that
 "the name of the goddess *Coventina* may be derived from
 "*Convenae*, a people of *Aquitania*, inhabiting a country
 "of springs, and addicted to the worship of water
 "deities."

In a further paper on the Well of *Coventina*, read 2nd
 August, 1877, Mr. Clayton said, "The goddess was a local
 "goddess, and her worship has been confined to the
 "locality; no altar has been raised to her divinity else-
 "where than at *Procolitia*; the root of the name might
 "therefore be expected to be found in some local object.
 "or event, and in the Celtic language. So euphonious
 "a name as *Coventina* would scarcely occur to the gallant
 "Dutchmen, of whom were composed the rank and file of
 "the First *Batavian* Cohort which formed the garrison
 "of *Procolitia*, and moreover, being troubled at home with
 "a superfluity of water, they would have no predilection

¹ The suggestion was made by Mr. Roach Smith.



The Water-goddess Coventina and her two attendant nymphs holding vessels and pouring out streams of water.

[From Procolitia]

[No. 63]



“for a water deity. The founding of the temple of Coventina must be ascribed to the Roman officers of the Batavian Cohort, who had left a country where ‘the sun shines every day,’ and where, in Pagan times, ‘springs and running waters were objects of adoration.’”

With reference to the Temple of Coventina Mr. Clayton proceeds to point out that the “polytheism of the pagan religion” afforded great facilities for the establishing of similar edifices in other parts of the Roman Empire. In 1836 the temple in the Department of the Côte d’Or, in France, which was dedicated to the water-goddess SEQUANA, at one of the sources of the river Seine, was excavated. “Altars and objects of sculpture were found scattered about the ruins of the building, and beneath the floor of one of the cells or little chapels was found a large earthenware vessel, bearing on its neck the inscription, ‘Deae Sequanae ‘Rufus donavit.’ This vessel is of the shape and size of those vessels which were used among the Romans for containing oil or wine, and with its then contents had doubtless been at some period presented to the goddess by an individual bearing the name of Rufus. This vessel, when found in 1836, was empty, save in respect of a small earthenware vase; and scattered around it were 120 thin plates of bronze and silver, chiefly representing parts of the human body, and that class of objects to which antiquarians apply the term ‘ex voto.’ In the small vase were found 836 coins, of which 285 were illegible, leaving 551 which were deciphered, of which more than one half were coins of Tetricus¹ and his son, and the rest extended over the period from Augustus down to Gratian, both inclusive, with the addition of a single coin of Magnus Maximus, the assassin of Gratian, and the usurper who took possession of and held Gaul, Spain, and Britain for about three years. . . . No other coins or other

¹ He was one of the thirty tyrants enumerated by Trebellius Pollis, and was invested with the purple at Bordeaux A.D. 267.

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“objects were found in the sacred well or in the running
“waters enclosed within the walls of the temple.” The
temple of Sequana is thought to have been destroyed by
the Christians, perhaps in the reign of Theodosius.



Altar dedicated to the goddess Coventina by Aurelius Grotus, a German.
[From Procolitia] [N° 86]

In connection with the Well of Coventina mention
must also be made of the discovery in January, 1876.
at Bourbonne les Bains (Aquae Borvonis, or Boryona).
in the Department of Haute Marne, in France. In

this town, near the baths, there have been found altars and votive tablets to a god called BORVONIS, and to a goddess called DAMONA, who are sometimes mentioned together in dedications thus:—"Deo Borvoni et Damonae." In dedications to the goddess only she is styled "Augusta." In the course of some alterations

connected with the water supply the remains of a Roman building were found, and here the workmen discovered

4512 Roman coins, of which 4214 were of bronze, 294 of silver, and four of gold. We must note too that a large number of copper or brass objects, which are supposed to represent money, were in

1852 found in the well at Acque Apollinari, which lies at a distance of

thirty-four Roman miles from Rome, on the road to Cosa, in Etruria. These are regarded as the tribute which the pagans who frequented the baths paid to the local gods who guarded the spring, and the custom of these men has been well compared to the practice of the Roman citizens who paid tribute to Lake Curzio for the safety of Octavianus



Altar dedicated to the goddess Coventina by Bellicus.
[From Procolitia] [No. 87]

Caesar, and to that of the Egyptians who paid tribute to the Nile, and to that of the Etruscans and Umbrians who paid tribute to the Lake of Falterona and the river Clitumnus respectively. In the reservoir of the bath were also found a number of vessels in bronze and silver. As example of another stream in England to which tribute was paid may be mentioned a rivulet near the village of Horton, in Dorsetshire, in the bed of which were found whole earthenware vessels, and 139 Roman coins.¹

The date of the foundation of the temple of Coventina may certainly be assumed to fall in the reign of Antoninus Pius who, though he protected both Jews and Christians from persecution, was a sincere and devout pagan. "The site fixed on was at that time a wooded glade, through which flowed a copious stream of pure water, and the divinity selected was a water deity. Thus rose from the earth the temple of the goddess Coventina; it was built of stone, and by inside measurement was forty feet by thirty-eight feet; the recent excavation has unearthed the lower courses of the outer walls of the temple, which are three feet in thickness. In the middle of the space inclosed by these walls was placed a well encased with substantial masonry. The dimensions of the well, since it was first opened, are diminished to a trifling extent since the well was emptied, in consequence of the walls having bulged inwards. The inside of the well now measures eight feet four inches by seven feet two inches, its depth is at present seven feet; but it has originally been deeper, as a higher course of stones has evidently been removed, and the floor of the temple has evidently been higher than the present level of the ground. This must be ascribed to the wearing away of the soil by a constant stream of water flowing down the valley. The well, outside the masonry, is cased with clay of the

¹ The discovery of the hoard of 29,802 Roman coins in October, 1873, on Lord Selborne's estate of Blackmoor Park, in Hampshire, is useless for purposes of comparison here, because they were not found by a stream or rivulet.



Altar dedicated to the goddess Covontina (Coventina) by Vincentius.
 [From Procolitia] [No. 89]

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“ thickness of about two feet, the effect of which would be
 “ to render it watertight. The depth of the well, as
 “ well as its structure, would seem unfavourable to the
 “ supposition that it was intended for or used as a bath.
 “ Inside the walls of the temple would be placed the
 “ votive tablet to the goddess, recording the name and
 “ rank of the dedicator, Titus Domitius Cosconianus.

“ Around the temple and within its walls, no doubt, were
 “ ranged, as in the case of the goddess Sequana, the altars
 “ and vases inscribed to the goddess by individual wor-
 “ shippers; and the priests seem to have kept in store in
 “ the temple a collection of blank altars, some wholly and
 “ others partly finished, ready to receive the dedication of
 “ devotees. The temple having been thus established,
 “ together with its priests, seems to have prospered.
 “ Offerings came in, altars were inscribed and dedicated,
 “ and love-sick damsels cast into the well their spare
 “ trinkets in the hope of obtaining the countenance of the
 “ goddess in their views. . . . The opening of the temple
 “ of the goddess Coventina, in the reign of Antoninus
 “ Pius, would, no doubt, attract devotional offerings of
 “ money, which might possibly escape the grasp of the
 “ Pagan priests, and be thrown into the well. To this
 “ circumstance may probably be ascribed the deposit in
 “ the well of some portion of coins found in it, and
 “ this notion is favoured by the circumstance of there
 “ being found amongst the coins taken out of the well,
 “ coins of the third consulate (A.D. 140), and of the fourth
 “ consulate (A.D. 145), of Antoninus Pius, which have
 “ never been in circulation. The temple and the worship of
 “ the goddess Coventina would seem to have been main-
 “ tained for more than two centuries and a half. In the
 “ reign of Constantine the Great, the Pagan religion re-
 “ ceived its first heavy blow. . . . The temple stood and
 “ the priests flourished during the succeeding emperors,
 “ including that of Gratian, with whom the collection of
 “ coins found in the well terminates. There are found
 “ none of the coins of Magnus Maximus, issued during his

“usurpation for three years of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. In
 “the year 386 the edicts of Theodosius for the extermina-
 “tion of the Pagan superstition, which had been enforced
 “in the Eastern Empire was extended to the Western
 “Empire. The temple of Sequana, in Gaul, was sacked
 “and burnt, and the altars and objects of sculpture in it



Altar dedicated to the goddess Coventina
 by the commanding officer of the First
 Cohort of the Cuberni, or Cugerni.

[From Procolitia]

[No. 118]

“were broken and de-
 “faced. The priests of
 “the goddess Coventina
 “seem to have fore-
 “seen the approaching
 “storm, and to have
 “saved from plunder
 “the contents of their
 “treasury, and from
 “desecration the votive
 “tablet and altars and
 “other objects then in
 “the temple, including
 “a dozen blank altars
 “prepared for the pur-
 “pose of receiving in-
 “scriptions, by deposit-
 “ing them for conceal-
 “ment in the well;
 “there is not a fracture
 “or a scratch on any
 “of them, and amongst
 “the altars so deposited
 “were carefully placed
 “two votive vases of
 “fragile material and
 “delicate workmanship, which are quite undamaged.
 “The priests of the temple were probably glad to escape
 “with their lives from the danger of the persecution of
 “Theodosius. The fluid state of the interior of the well
 “would naturally lead to mixture and confusion in the
 “objects deposited.

“ In the absence of positive proof the date and circumstances of the fate of the Temple of Coventina can only be matter of conjecture. So far our conjecture has been founded on the precedent of the fate of the Temple of the goddess Sequana. The peculiar position of the Temple of Coventina, under shelter of the fortress of Procolitia, on the line of defence against an aggressive foe, renders it not improbable that the deposition in the well as a place of safety may have been occasioned by a successful inroad of the Caledonians; or it may be supposed to be possible that in this remote part of the Roman Empire the worship of the goddess Coventina might possibly survive the edicts of Theodosius for a few years, and her temple might be preserved until the Romans abandoned Britain, and the brave Batavian cohort, after holding a post of danger in the face of the Caledonians for more than two centuries and a half, marched with the Sixth Legion to confront on the soil of Italy the invading hordes of Attila. In either of the latter cases the contents of the military chest might be added to the contents of the treasury of the temple, and swell the number of the coins.”

Returning now to the objects which were found in the Well of Coventina, we may specially note the two very remarkable vases of earthenware which were dedicated to the goddess by Saturninus Gabinius, and which appear, judging by the inscriptions, to have been made with his own hands:—“Covetina Augusta votu manibus suis



Altar dedicated to the goddess
Coventina by Grotus.

[From Procolitia] [No. 119]

Saturninus fecit Gabinius." It is an interesting fact that Gabinius gives to the goddess the title "Augusta," for which "several precedents exist in the Nymphaeum, or "Temple of the Water Deities at Nismes, the goddess "addressed being styled 'Nympha Augusta.'" The inscription on vase No. 2 is a barbarous abbreviation of that on vase No. 1, and as Professor Hübner observed, the dedicator, Saturninus Gabinius, must have been



Altar dedicated to Minerva.
[From Procolitia] [No. 78]

content to explain his intentions by the inscription on vase No. 1. or he must have placed unlimited faith in the intelligence of the goddess; and, at any rate, if No. 1 had been destroyed, No. 2 would have been utterly unintelligible. Whatever may be thought of the skill of Gabinius as a potter, his orthography is palpably defective. The votive tablet of Cosconianus is the most important object in the "find;" the use of the double "V" in the name of Coventina is a peculiarity, and may be accidental, or

an example of the practice of doubling the consonant, in order to give greater emphasis to the syllable. Among the inscribed altars are several worthy of note. Thus No. 89, which was dedicated to "Saint Covontina" by Vincentius, is ornamented on the front of the base with figures of dolphins; the epithet "Sanctae" applied to the goddess is remarkable and is found on no other altar

from the well at Procolitia. In the inscription on No. 61, which was dedicated by DUBHUS, a German, the addition of *nympha* to the title of goddess is evidence of Coventina's aquatic attributes. No. 87 was dedicated by Bellicus, who appears to have been a recruit, and to have adopted a "Roman name of warlike sound." The inscription on No. 118 mentions the First Cohort of the Cugerni, or Cuberni, a people of Belgic Gaul, which served in Britain under the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, and is included in the diplomas of citizenship granted by these Emperors; this cohort was stationed in Scotland during the building of the Wall of Antoninus. The altar No. 68, which was dedicated by NOMATIUS, has a rect-



Altar dedicated to the Genius of the Camp by soldiers of the Second Cohort of the Nervii.

[From Procolitia]

[No. 91]

angular focus, and is ornamented with a female head sculptured in relief. The altar dedicated by GROTUS (No. 119) has a very elaborate focus, and is ornamented with unusual designs; the green stains on the stone are caused by the copper oxide from the coins with which the altar was found in the Well of Coventina. Altar No. 93



Altar dedicated to the goddess Fortuna by Vitalis. It was suspended by means of an iron ring and staple inserted in the focus with lead.

[From Procolitia]

[No. 94]

is interesting because, like one dedicated to Fortuna, which was found at Procolitia, it has an iron ring fastened into the focus by means of lead; the ring was added for the purpose of carrying or suspending the altar. Altar No. 78 was also found in the Well of Coventina, a fact for which it is difficult to find any satisfactory explanation, especially as it is dedicated to Minerva; it has been suggested that the votary who dedicated it regarded

Minerva as identical with Coventina, but it hardly removes our difficulty.

Among the numerous small objects which were found in the well at Procolitia were three well-preserved inlaid brooches, three bronze heads, one of a female and two of males, apparently representing Mirth and Melancholy.



Group of objects, consisting of enamelled brooches, bronze figures of a horse and dog, bronze heads of Mirth and Melancholy, a bone or ivory pin or stylus, a bone die, bronze handle of a vessel, etc., from the Well of the goddess Coventina at Procolitia (Carrawburgh). [Table-case C.]

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an ivory stylus, with a female head carved at one end of it, and an ivory die. The coins found in the well cover a period of over four hundred years, for the earliest are three coins of Marcus Antonius, the Triumvir, which were coined shortly before the battle of Actium (fought 2nd September, B.C. 31), and the latest are coins of Gratian, who became emperor A.D. 367, and was assassinated A.D. 383. Mr. Clayton says that many of the emperors who reigned between B.C. 31 and A.D. 383 are represented in the series of coins from the well, and, he adds, the series "would have been more complete but for "an untoward circumstance. For a whole Sunday during "the time occupied in emptying the well, a party of "thirty or forty men, chiefly miners from the lead "districts, were in full possession of it, and carried away "two or three thousands of the coins. In the peaceful "and well ordered county of Northumberland, where all "classes are united in respect for, and in support of, the "laws of their country, such a raid could not have been "anticipated, and the presence of a single policeman "would have prevented it. The perpetrators, it is "believed, were under the impression that 'the coins "'belonged to the Ancient Romans,' and that there could "be no harm in taking them. On account of numis- "matists this interruption to the series is much to be "regretted, but we may console ourselves by the reflec- "tion, that the coins which remain are sufficient for the "purposes of history, and that to the world at large it "is a matter of indifference whether coins are rare or "common, or even whether *Latin bronze* coins of Otho "have been found elsewhere than at Birmingham, in "which seat of manufacturing industry they have been "occasionally produced." When the great mass of coins was first found opinion was divided among archaeologists as to the reason why they had been placed at the bottom of the well; some thought that they were hidden there for purposes of safety, and others declared that they represented the offerings which were made to the goddess

Coventina by her votaries.¹ Those who held the former view admitted that coins were offered at shrines, as those which were discovered in the well of the goddess Sequana prove, but thought that those in the well of Coventina did not support the votive offering theory. According to Mr. Roach Smith the time when the coins were entrusted to the well could not have been before the latter part of the reign of Gratian, and it may have been somewhat, but probably not much later. The rebellion of Magnus Maximus and the withdrawal of many of the garrisons from Britain may be suggested as the reason for their deposit. The *castra* on the line of the Wall must, at this period, have been left in an almost defenceless state; and although Britain and Gaul, by the defeat of Maximus, were recovered to the Empire, the military hold of the long line of fortresses of the Wall must have been relaxed, and probably never after effectually resisted the attacks of the Picts and Scots. Accepting this theory, that some panic was the cause of the concealment of the coins in mass, we may look upon the treasure as a fair representation of the money circulating at Procolitia at the close of the reign of Gratian. This argument is ingenious enough, but the best authorities hold that the coins in the well were votive offerings, and their view is undoubtedly correct. The coins were examined first by the Rev. William Greenwell, M.A., F.R.S., Dr. Bruce, and Mr. R. Blair, and subsequently by Mr. Roach Smith, who prepared the following table of them² :—

Emperor, etc.	Gold	Silver	1st Brass	2nd Brass	Total
Marc Antony	—	3	—	—	3
Augustus	—	—	2	1	3
M. Agrippa	—	—	—	1	1
Tiberius	—	—	—	1	1
Drusus	—	—	—	1	1

¹ See Roach Smith, "The Roman Wall—Procolitia," in *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vii., pp. 115, 214 ff.; and Sir John Evans, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xix., new series, p. 15.

² See *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. viii., p. 43.

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Emperor, etc.	Gold	Silver	1st Brass	2nd Brass	Total
Germanicus	—	—	—	2	2
Claudius	—	—	2	18	20
Nero	1	1	—	50	52
Galba	—	—	6	—	6
Otho	—	1	—	—	1
Vespasian	—	6	} 65	476	550
Titus	—	3			
Julia Titi	—	—	—	1	1
Domitian	—	8	139	338	485
Nerva	—	1	43	38	82
Trajan	—	13	980	779	1772
Hadrian	—	8	1404	918	2330
Sabina	1	1	58	41	101
L. Aelius	—	—	16	14	30
Antoninus Pius	1	12	910	891	} 2141
Do. (Britannia type)	—	—	—	327	
Faustina I.	—	6	275	407	688
M. Aurelius	—	8	345	314	667
Faustina II.	—	12	259	395	666
L. Verus	—	1	56	24	81
Lucilla	—	2	74	13	89
Commodus	—	5	189	13	207
Crispina	—	1	36	2	39
Didius Julianus	—	—	1	—	1
Didia Clara	—	1	—	—	1
Clodius Albinus	—	2	—	—	2
Sept. Severus	—	22	20	—	42
Julia Domna	1	17	4	—	22

	Silver	1st Brass	2nd Brass	3rd Brass	Total
Caracalla	10	3	—	—	13
Plautilla	2	—	—	—	2
Geta	1	—	—	—	1
Elagabalus	3	—	—	—	3
Julia Paula	1	—	—	—	1
Aquilia Severa	1	—	—	—	1
Julia Soaemias	1	—	—	—	1

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Emperor, etc.	Silver	1st Brass	2nd Brass	3rd Brass	Total
Julia Maesa	2	—	—	—	2
Severus Alexander	4	4	—	2	10
Julia Mamaea	6	1	1	—	8
Maximinus I.	—	1	—	—	1
Maximus	—	1	—	—	1
Gordianus Pius	2	1	1	—	4
Philippus I.	2	2	—	—	4
Philippus II.	1	—	1	—	2
Etruscilla	1	—	—	—	1
Trebonianus Gallus	1	—	—	—	1
Valerian	2	—	—	1	3
Gallienus	3	—	—	80	83
Salonina	2	—	—	2	4
Claudius Gothicus	—	—	—	72	72
Quintillus	—	—	—	8	8
Aurelian	—	—	—	10	10
Postumus	5	1	—	29	35
Victorinus	—	—	—	71	71
Marius	—	—	—	1	1
The Tetrici	—	—	—	81	81
Tacitus	—	—	—	15	15
Probus	—	—	—	19	19
Carinus	—	—	—	1	1
Diocletian	—	—	18	—	18
Maximian	—	—	39	7	46
Caransius	—	—	—	25	25
Allectus... ..	—	—	—	16	16
Constantius	—	—	15	12	27
Helena	—	—	—	11	11
Theodora	—	—	—	1	1
Severus II.	—	—	2	—	2
Maximinus II.	—	—	2	7	9
Maxentius	—	—	2	—	2
Licinius	—	—	1	14	15
Constantine	—	—	3	197	200
Fausta	—	—	—	3	3
Crispus	—	—	—	21	21

THE WELL OF THE GODDESS COVENTINA 173

Emperor, etc.	Silver	1st Brass	2nd Brass	3rd Brass	Total
Constantine II. ...	—	—	—	66	66
Constans ...	—	—	—	25	25
Magnentius ...	—	—	—	30	30
Decentius ...	—	—	—	3	3
Constantius II. ...	—	—	—	12	12
Constantine Family ...	—	—	—	—	230
Urbs Roma ...	—	—	—	—	67
Constantinopolis ...	—	—	—	—	62
Valentinian ...	—	—	—	1	1
Valens ...	—	—	—	—	6
Gratian ...	—	—	—	—	15
Small Brass (illegible)	—	—	—	—	27
Illegible (chiefly 1st and 2nd Brass, about) ...	—	—	—	—	2000
Greek of Neapolis (much worn) ...	—	—	—	1	1
Total ...				<u>13,487</u>	

CHAPTER VIII.

EXCAVATIONS AT HOUSESTEADS (BORCOVICUS).

GORDON, the antiquary, who visited Housesteads early in the XVIIIth Century, says that this Station "is unquestionably the most remarkable and magnificent Station in the whole island, and it is hardly credible what a number of august remains of the Roman grandeur is to be seen here to this day, seeing in every place where one casts his eye there is some curious Roman antiquity to be seen : either the marks of streets and temples in ruins or inscriptions, broken pillars, statues, and other pieces of sculpture, all scattered along the ground." Horsley also describes the vast ruins of this place as truly wonderful, and says that "there may be two or three Stations in Britain, as Burdoswald, Ellenborough, and Lanchester, that exceed this in number of inscriptions, but none I think equal it as to the extent of the ruins of the town, or the numbers, variety, and curiosity of the sculptures which yet remain here."¹ Gale and Stukeley saw the Station in 1725 and were greatly surprised "with such a scene of Roman British antiquities as they had never beheld," and the latter called it "the Tadmor of Britain."² In the year 1600 Camden and Sir Thomas Cotton visited the Station of Magna, and in speaking of the course of the great Wall Camden says that the neighbourhood of

¹ *Britannia Romana*, p. 219, No. xxxvi.

² Hodgson, *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 185 f.

Busy Gap was infested with such a gang of thieves that it was positively unsafe for any one to attempt to visit Chester-in-the-Wall, that is to say Housesteads. The Rev. John Hodgson mentions the fact that "even a century after, Grindon Know was the nest of a clan of thieves of the name of Armstrong, who were the terror of the country; and that Housesteads stood in a perilous spot may be inferred from the fact, that the present proprietor's grandfather gave only £58 for it, and the grounds about it, which a few years since let for £300 a year."¹

The remains at Housesteads mark the site of the Eighth Station on the Roman Wall which, according to the "Notitia Dignitatum," was called Borcovicus, and was garrisoned by a cohort of one thousand Tungrian infantry. According to Mr. Henry MacLauchlan's measurements Borcovicus is 4 miles $4\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs from Carrawburgh, in a straight line, and about 4 miles $6\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs by the Wall. The Station is longer in proportion to its breadth than usual, and it is the third in size along the line of the Wall. "Half of it hangs on a slope, with a southern aspect; the other, or northern half, is flat, floored with basalt, covers the summit of a lofty ridge, and commands a prospect on the east, south, and west, far away beyond the Valley of the Tyne, over blue air-tinted grounds and lofty mountains; and to the north of the Wall over the vast waste of the Forest of Lowes, so-called from several small loughs or lakes within it, and where, indeed, 'a proud, stupendous solitude frowns 'o'er the heath.'"² Its weakest side is on the west, where the ground rises gently in that direction, but on the east the fall is quicker, and at a short distance it falls rapidly into the Knag Burn; the fall on the south is rapid, and broken into terraces, which seem to have been for the purposes of cultivation, but for whatever purpose, they have utterly destroyed the line of the Vallum, which

¹ Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

² *Memoir*, p. 38.

³ Hodgson, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., pt. ii., p. 185.

appears from observation of its course, on the east and west of the camp, to have passed about 100 yards south of the wall of the Station. The Great Wall joins the Station on the north-east angle, and leaves it on the north west, forming a great angle with the front in the former case, but scarcely any with the latter, but enough to show, with the rounded shape of the north-west angle, the probability of the Wall having been built after the Station. The length of the north and south fronts is about 205 yards each side, that of the east and west about 120 yards, making a rectangular figure of about 5 acres. The height of the Station above the sea is 730 feet. On the east and west sides the gate was in the middle of the boundary wall, and MacLauchlan was able to trace for a short distance on each side the military way which led to them. The north and south gates were so placed opposite each other as to leave about one third of the Station towards the east, and though the other two-thirds are divided by a visible line, it is probable that there was no outlet at each end of it. On the east of the Station, at a distance of about 130 yards, is a hollow formed in what was probably the ditch of the Great Wall; it is circular, and though north of the Wall, was perhaps an Amphitheatre. Below this, on the south, close to the Knag Burn, and about 200 yards from the Wall, are the remains of a hypocaust. The present road to the Station to the southward was probably the line of the Roman Way, from the point where it crossed the Vallum to the south edge of the low ground south of Chapel Hill. At this spot a quantity of large stones were found, in trenching the place to drain the bog, and it is presumed these stones formed the foundation of the Roman road, which with some breaks at intervals, can be traced eastward to the Stane-gate. Two furlongs to the west of Housesteads is a mile-castle, which is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs from the last, above Mosskennel, in a straight line; and the next is a little below Hot-bank farmhouse, and about $6\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs from the last in a straight line. This part of the great

line is the best worth visiting, perhaps, not only to the antiquary, but to the geologist and botanist.¹

The earliest recorded excavation of Housesteads appears to have been made by Gordon, the antiquary, and Sir John Clerk, "who caused the place to be dug" where "they were sitting amidst the ruinous streets of this "famous oppidum and found a small statue."²

In 1822 the Rev. John Hodgson partly cleared the western side of the southern gateway, and found the groundwork of the jamb on one side, and of the pillar on the other, formed of very large stones; the passage-way was seven feet two inches wide.³ In 1830 he cleared out a room which measured 24 feet by 15 feet, and was outside the Station, and found that it had been used as a place for drying and grinding corn, and making it into bread.

In 1833 he cleared the eastern gateway; in the place which had been turned into a guard chamber about a "cartload of fossil coal" was found. The most important, however, of all the early "finds" was the discovery of the group of altars which Horsley published in his great work (Nos. 36-48), and which were dug up at a place called Chapel Hill,⁴ where a large temple is supposed to have once stood.

Immediately to the west of Chapel Hill, and about 300 yards to the south of the south gateway of Borcovicus is the hollow in the ground where the famous Mithraic Altar was found in 1822. This interesting object is now preserved in the Castle at Newcastle. The altars and other things which were found with it were discovered by some workmen employed by Mr. G. Gibson, the owner of

¹ MacLauchlan, *Memoir*, p. 40.

² Hodgson, *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 186.

³ See *Observations on the Roman Station of Housesteads*, by the Rev. John Hodgson, in *Arch. Æl.*, vol. i., Old Series, p. 263 ff. It is interesting to note that in this paper (p. 266) he attributes the Wall to Severus.

⁴ "There is a hill, or large ruinous heap, distant about two or three "furlongs to the south from this Station, which is supposed to be the "ruins of a considerable temple, and is now called Chapel-hill." Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, p. 219, No. 36.

Housesteads, to build a dry stone fence. An altar was first struck by a workman's spade, and subsequent search revealed the existence of a rectangular area, bounded by four walls of ordinary masonry, measuring 12 feet 8 in. from north to south, and 10 feet from east to west; at the west end was a recess 2 feet 6 in. long and 7 feet deep, and the floor was paved with slabs of sandstone of various shapes and sizes. The workmen had discovered accidentally a cave dedicated to the worship of Mithras.



Sketch of the Mithraic Altar found in a small temple dedicated to the god Mithras at Borcovicus, in June, 1822. The god Mihr, the Mithras of the Greeks, is here represented within an oval or egg-shaped frame, upon the flat edge of which are sculptured in relief the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. This altar is preserved in the Castle at Newcastle.

Mihr, or Mithras, was a form of the Sun-god which was worshipped in Persia in very early times, and it is generally thought that the adoration of the god was originally accompanied by the performance of ceremonies connected with nature worship, and by licentious orgies; there is little doubt that his worship included all the acts which are commonly associated with the cult of deities who typify the reproductive power of nature. About 100 years before Christ the worship of Mithras was adopted by the Romans, who appear to have associated human

sacrifice with his mysteries, and in the second century of our era the cult of the god had spread all over Western Europe, and had seemingly made its way into Britain; the Rev. John Hodgson thought that the god

continued to be worshipped at Housesteads until A.D. 253. As a proof that the worship of Mithras was not confined to Northumberland the same learned writer mentions the discovery of a "taurine tablet of Mithras" at York in 1747, and Horsley published an image of him, found at Chester,¹ and an inscription² that mentions him which was found at Cambeck-Fort in Cumberland. Mithras is



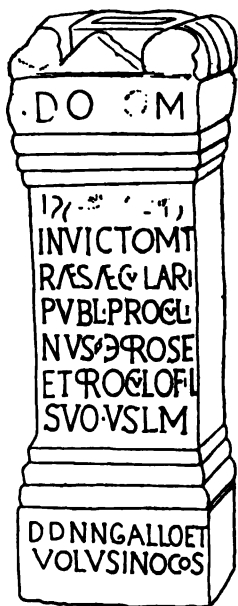
The god Mithras standing within the Zodiac.
(See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, tom. ii. p. 419.)

represented in the form of a vigorous young man, who wears a Persian tiara and a candys, and he is usually seen kneeling on the back of a prostrate bull, the head of which he pulls back, by a horn or its muzzle, with his left hand, while, with the right, he plunges a dagger into its neck. One of

¹ See Horsley, *op. cit.*, p. 316, No. v., Plate 66.

² *Ibid.*, p. 258, No. xxxix., Plate 42.

the fore-legs of the bull is usually bent under its body, and the other is stretched out. Mithras is usually accompanied by two torch-bearers, and a lion, crow, scorpion, serpent, crab, dog, etc., which are probably



Altar dedicated to the god Mithr or Mithras by Publius Proculus, a centurion; it was found to the south of the Mithraic Altar, near the eastern end of the Temple of Mithras at Borcovicus, in June, 1822, and is now preserved in the Castle at Newcastle. It was dedicated in the year when Gallus and Volusianus were consuls, i.e., A.D. 252.

intended to represent a number of the Signs of the Zodiac, or certain planets or constellations. The "find" in the temple of Mithras at Housesteads consisted of :—

1. A mural tablet measuring 4 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in., on which is a representation of Mithras who, according to the Rev. John Hodgson, stands between the hemispheres of the earth, or the regions of the north and south, and on an oval band of stone round him are depicted the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac.

2. An Altar dedicated to Mithras by Publius Proculus a centurion, at the time when Gallus and Volusianus were consuls. Hübner's reading of the text is as follows:—JOVIS OPTIMI MAXIMI. INVICTO MITRAE SAECULARI PVBLCI(ICIUS) PROCULINUS C [i.e., CENTURIO] PRO SE ET PROCULO FILIO SVO V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO). D(OMINIS) N(OSTRIS) GALLO ET VOLUSIANO CO(N)S(ULIBUS). And see Hodgson, *Arch. Æl.* vol. i. Old Series, 1828, p.

265; Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. iii. p. 190; Bruce, *Catalogue*, in *Arch. Æl.*, vol. i. p. 260, No. 131; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 388; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 99, No. 190.

3. An Altar dedicated to Mithras by Litorius Paca-

tianus, a consular beneficiary, on behalf of himself and his family. Hübner's reading of the text is as follows:—
DEO SOLI INVICTO MYTRAE SAECULARI LITORIVS PACATIANUS B(ENE)F(ICIARIUS) CO(N)S(ULARIS) PRO SE ET SUIVS(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO). And see Hodgson, *Arch. Aeliana*, vol. i. Old Series, 1828, p. 265; Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, part ii. vol. iii. p. 190; Bruce, *Catalogue in Arch. Ael.* vol. i. p. 259, No. 127; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 399; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 98, No. 189.

4. A small Altar dedicated to the sun by Hieronymus.

5. A number of fragments which formed one of the "tauric" tablets of Mithras. The arrangement of the figures on tablets of this class will be clearly seen from the drawing of a Tablet of Mithras in the British Museum which is here reproduced. Of the "find" thus accidentally made at Housesteads we have, fortunately, a contemporaneous account, which is attributed to the Rev. John Hodgson, and will be found in the issue of the "Newcastle Chronicle" for October 26,

1822; as this is circumstantial and was written by one who had knowledge of the matter at first hand, it has been thought well to reprint it here:—

"George Gibson, Esq., of Reedsmouth, has lately "presented to the Society of Antiquaries of this town a



Altar dedicated to the god Mihr or Mithras by Litorius Pacatianus; it was found to the north of the Mithraic Altar, near the western end of the temple of Mithras, at Borcovicus, in June, 1822, and is now preserved in the Castle at Newcastle.

“curious and interesting collection of Roman antiquities,
 “found about three months ago, upon that gentleman’s
 “estate of Housesteads, on which, as is well known, is the
 “celebrated Station supposed to be the ancient *Borcovicus*,
 “one of the stations *per lineam valli*. As the workmen
 “were searching for stones in a small knoll in the field at
 “the bottom of the hill on which the Station stands, and
 “close adjoining to the west side of a round hill called the
 “Chapel Hill, a stone, which partly appeared above the
 “surface, resisting their efforts to raise it, they found it



The god Mithras slaying a bull.

[Reproduced from a drawing of a slab in the British Museum by permission of the Trustees]

“necessary to clear away the soil around it. In doing so,
 “they soon discovered that the stone in question was an
 “altar standing upright; and being presently induced by
 “other appearances to extend their search, they proceeded
 “with the utmost caution to clear away the ground to a
 “considerable extent, and to some depth. When this was
 “effected, they found that they had opened an area or
 “chamber about 12 feet square, and surrounded by walls
 “about 4 feet high, on the inside, but not level with the
 “surface of the ground. The sides faced the four cardinal



Victory holding a palm-branch.

[Found in the Eastern Gateway of the Station of Borcovicus in 1852]

[No. 129]

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“ points of the compass, and towards the northern end of
“ the east side was an opening evidently intended for an
“ entrance. In the western side was a rectangular recess,
“ occupying nearly three-fourths of its length. About two
“ feet in front of this recess, and so placed as to afford a
“ free passage round them, were standing, with their faces
“ to the east, a curiously sculptured stone, and two noble
“ altars in excellent preservation, one on each side of the
“ stone, and resting against it. Each of the altars bore
“ an inscription, “ INVICTO MITRÆ SÆCULARI,” cut in bold
“ and fine-shaped characters.

“ The upper part of the stone was broken off, but
“ luckily the fragments were lying near it, and these
“ being fitted to their places, the stone has been
“ restored to nearly its original shape, and sufficiently
“ so to ascertain its nature and design. The lower part
“ of the stone presents merely a plain uninscribed tablet,
“ about 20 inches high, and two feet broad. In the upper
“ part of the stone an opening is cut in the shape of an
“ egg, with the smaller end downwards. This opening is
“ over-arched, and nearly encircled by a band about 10 or
“ 12 inches broad ; on this band are sculptured, in relief,
“ the several Signs of the Zodiac ; and it is worthy of
“ remark that the summer signs are much larger than the
“ winter ones. Within this opening there is placed the
“ upper half of a small human figure (no doubt of
“ *Mithras*), resting with its lower extremity on what
“ appears to be a hemisphere, which lies in the smaller
“ end of the egg with its flat surface upwards. Upon the
“ head of the figure, and supporting as it were the centre
“ of the band on which the Zodiac is sculptured, is some-
“ thing which is evidently too large and projecting for a
“ cap, and has the appearance of another hemisphere
“ inverted. The figure has originally had arms, but these
“ are now lost ; the hands however remain, carved in bold
“ relief, upon the inner edge of the band, one on each side
“ opposite the other, from which it is evident that the
“ arms of the figure have been extended. In the right

“hand, which is in the sign Gemini, is a sword; in the
“left, which is in the sign Virgo, there is a lighted torch.
“The whole of this stone, with the exception of the arms
“of the figure and a small part of the centre of the band,
“has been recovered; only one sign of the Zodiac (Cancer)
“is wanting.

“Behind and near this stone some other sculptured
“fragments were found, particularly two large cross-
“legged Phrygian figures, such as are usually seen as the
“attendants of *Mithras* in the bas-reliefs representing
“him killing the bull. These figures have evidently
“belonged to such a bas-relief (which probably occupied
“the recess behind the altars and the Zodiac), as a fore
“leg of the bull yet remains beneath one of them, and
“they both have the appearance of having been broken
“off a larger stone. It is much to be regretted that the
“whole of this stone has not been recovered, since with-
“out doubt it must originally have been a very fine
“representation of *Mithras*, the figures being above two
“feet high, cut in bold relief, and displaying much spirit
“and skill in their design and execution; from a fragment
“of a right shoulder, a hand grasping a sword handle,
“and part of the drapery of the Phrygian dress, which
“have been found, and which without doubt have formed
“part of it, the figure of *Mithras* must have been nearly
“as large as life; the leg of the bull is also of correspond-
“ing size.—Each of these figures bears a torch, crossing
“their bodies in a slanting direction, and with the flame
“elevated; the left hand of one of them is resting on
“something which appears to be a caduceus. The minor
“sculptured fragments were, the horn of a bull, and a
“rude figure, supposed to be a scorpion, etc. In other
“parts of the chamber there were four or five smaller altars
“found, only one of which was inscribed (‘*Soli, &c.*’).
“This altar was standing in the north-east corner, near
“the entrance; and besides a short inscription there was
“carved on its capital a bust of the sun, with rays
“encircling the head. From this account it is evident



Altar dedicated to the deities Mars Thingsus, Beda, and Fimmilena, by the German Tuihantian citizens of the Cuneus of the Frisians.

[From Borcovicus]

[No. 195]

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“that there can be no doubt that the chamber thus
 “opened had been a temple, or part of a temple, dedi-
 “cated to Mithras, the worship of whom, as is well
 “known, was performed in caverns and subterraneous
 “temples; with which the half-sunk state of this chamber
 “accords satisfactorily enough.”

Passing now to the consideration of the excavations which were made at Housesteads in subsequent years, we have to note that although work was carried on in various directions by Mr. John Clayton between 1850 and 1860, the whole site was not laid bare by him until about the year 1866. By this time the Station itself and all the ground about it had been cleared out, and the visitor was able to gain an accurate idea of the general position and arrangements of the buildings in one of the largest of the Stations on the Roman Wall. The excavations remained open for a considerable time, but owing to the damage which was done to the walls, etc., by tourists, Mr. Clayton determined to fill in the ruins, and this work was taken in hand forthwith. It is greatly to be regretted that a plan of the Station was not prepared before this was done, for it is evident that many of the details of the buildings, which could at that time have been easily put on record, have now disappeared.

In the November of 1883 “a shepherd,¹ employed on “the Housesteads farm, was attracted by a carved “stone which reached the surface of the ground, and “he communicated with an experienced excavator at “the Station of Cilurnum, who, on the 17th November, “dug up a sculptured stone and two altars to Mars.” One of the altars (No. 194), now at Chesters, is dedicated to the war-god Mars Thingsus, or Mars Thincsus, and to the two Alaisiagae goddesses, Beda and Fimmilena, and to the divinity of Augustus by the German Tuihantian citizens; and the other (No. 195) is dedicated to the same deities by the Germans who were

¹ See John Clayton, *Roman inscribed altars, etc., at Housesteads* (*Arch. Æl.*, vol. x., p. 149).



Altar dedicated to Mars Thingsus and to Beda and Fimmilena, by the German Tuihantian citizens. (Front view.)

[From Borcovicus] [No. 194]

Tuihantian citizens, and who belonged to the Cuneus of the Frisians. About the god Mars Thingsus much has been said and written, but the explanation of the title Thingsus is not easy. According to Professor Scherer¹ *Thingsus* means "belonging to the assembly of the people," and in this case Mars Thingsus = Mars comitalis, i.e., Mars is probably called Thingsus "as the president of the *concilium* "in whose name the "priests bade silence "and punished. Thus, "he is in near relationship with the Scandinavian Forseti, the "god of judgment."

The semi-circular sculptured stone which was found with the altars appears to have formed a part of an ornamental entrance to a small temple, and the male figure in relief upon it is undoubtedly that of the god Mars Thingsus. At the feet of the god is the figure of

¹ *Arch. Aeliana*, vol. x, p. 157.

a bird, which may be provisionally identified as that of a swan. The goddesses Beda and Fimmilena must, according to Professor Heinzel,¹ of Vienna, be referred to the Bodthing and Fimelthing of the Frisians; Bodthing is the general court of justice, to which there was given, with the Frisians, a bidding, and Fimelthing is the "movable" judgment, which did not take place regularly, but only when there was a special want for it. The two Alaisiagae, therefore, are representatives of the reverence due to Tius Things (Mars Thingsus) in the national assembly; they are the divinities of the peace of the "thing," Beda for the Bodthing, and Fimmilena (or rather Fimilena) for the Fimelthing.

In June, 1884, Mr. John Clayton caused further excavations to be carried out at Housesteads, and he was rewarded by finding the missing portion of the semi-circular sculptured stone which had been



Altar dedicated to Mars Thingsus and to Beda and Fimmilena, by the German Tuihantian citizens. (Left-hand side view.)

[From Borcovicus] [No. 194]

¹ *Arch. Aeliana*, vol. x., p. 165.

found in the previous November. The workmen next came across a Roman well which had been filled with earth, and when it was cleared out a "copious spring of pure water" was found in it. A number of trenches were cut in various parts of the Chapel Hill, but nothing was unearthed, except two uninscribed stone altars, and after four weeks' labour the work of excavation was suspended.

The most recent excavations made at Housesteads are those of Messrs. A. C. Dickie and R. C. Bosanquet, who in 1898 again uncovered the whole Station, and cleared out and carefully examined certain portions of it which had not hitherto received detailed investigation. In the course of the work a number of interesting though mutilated sculptures were found, and among them may be mentioned the three stone figures (Nos. 130, 133 and 135) which probably belonged to sculptured stelae on which the god Mithras was represented in the act of slaying a bull; these are now preserved in the Museum at Chesters.¹

We may now consider the general arrangement of the Station of Borcovicus. On the eastern and western sides the gates are in the middle of the walls, and originally a road must have run directly through the Station from east to west; on the north and south sides there was a gate in each wall, and they were placed in such a way that about one-third of the Station lay on the eastern side of the road which led from the north to the south gate direct. The Forum appears to have occupied almost the centre of the Station, and to the south of it, probably, lay the Praetorium. A bath-house, whether large or small cannot be said, was included among the buildings within the four walls of the Station, and the rest of the space, by far the largest portion of it, was occupied by the barracks for the soldiers. The walls of the Station were rounded

¹ In a letter, dated 17th September, 1902, Mr. R. O. Heslop, M.A., one of the Secretaries of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, courteously informed me that his Society intended to publish the Housesteads Report "as soon as it is obtainable from Mr. Bosanquet."



Arch sculptured in relief with figures of the War-god Mars Thingsus, and the goddesses Beda and Fimmilena, and a
goose, from a temple dedicated by the Germans to their god.

[No. 126]

[From Borcovicus]

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Stone cross-legged figure wearing a Phrygian cap and holding a torch, from the side of a relief representing the god Mithras slaying a bull.
[Found at Borcovicus in 1898] [No. 135]



at the corners, as usual, and a guard chamber, or a small rectangular turret, occupied a portion of each circular space, and a small turret was built on to the north side of the south wall about half way between the south gate and the western side of the Station. Each of the four gates of the Station was a double one, and each of the two divisions of each gate was provided with a two-leaved door. At each side of every gate was a guard chamber, but when the garrison was reduced one portal of some of the gates was walled up, and the adjoining chamber was turned into quarters for a petty officer. The eastern gateway is of some interest, for the ruts which have been made in it by two-horsed carts and chariots are still visible. The northern gate, like the eastern, had one of its portals walled up, and it may be noted that the level of the threshold of the western portal was modified in ancient times, and that it is some feet higher than it was when the Station was built. The southern gateway was, as has already been said, partly excavated by the Rev. John Hodgson between 1822 and 1830, who found that the eastern portal was walled up in ancient times. The western gateway is the best preserved of all those at this Station, and according to Dr. Bruce "it was contracted to half its width; but, to expose an intruding foe to greater difficulty, the passage was rendered diagonal by closing up the northern portion of the outside and the southern portion of the inside portal. The inner of these interpolated walls is nearly all removed; the other was standing when the gate was excavated."¹

An examination of the remains at Housesteads will convince the visitor that the Station was one of first-class importance in the line of the great Wall, and it is extremely probable that it was one of the sites first chosen for a Station so far back as the time of Agricola. As a post of observation it is second to none on the

¹ *Handbook*, Fourth Edition, p. 150.

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Roman Wall, for a sentry with good sight stationed on a turret of the Wall some 20 feet above the ground would be able to keep a good and effective look-out over a radius of fifteen or twenty miles. The deep ditch to the north of the Wall would render attack by the Picts and Scots practically impossible, even if they were able to make their way into the ditch unobserved, and for some considerable distance to the east and the west of the Station to the natives the Roman defence was to all intents and purposes impregnable. Nevertheless it is clear that the enemies of the rule of Rome must have made their way



Portion of a Sun-dial.

[From Borcovicus]

[No. 131]

over or through the wall and into the Station by some means or other, for there are traces of two, if not three, distinct occupations of Housesteads to be seen among the remains there. When they arrived there they looted the place, and probably burned whatever was capable of being destroyed by fire, and then either made off with their spoil or altered the buildings which they found in the Station to suit their ideas, and made dwelling places of portions of them. In due course the Roman soldiers, who had either evacuated the Station or been driven out,

returned with reinforcements, and expelled the restless people from the land north of the Wall, and took up their old quarters. The necessary repairs to the Wall and the Station buildings were roughly executed, and the work was simplified by the fact that the Tungrian newcomers cleared away nothing that was ruined, but simply built on the top of the overturned walls.

The chief occupants of the Station at Housesteads were, of course, the Tungrian infantry, one thousand strong, who garrisoned Borcovicus, but there must have been a comparatively large civil population which lived close to the camp. On the sloping ground to the south there were probably a number of houses inhabited by Roman officers and their wives and families, and it is evident from the large number of fine sculptures which have been found in the neighbourhood that the civilians were men and women of taste and culture, and that they, as far as possible, worshipped the gods whom they had been accustomed to reverence in Italy in suitable places which they built for the purpose, and with appropriate ceremonies. Many of the Tungrian soldiers also must have had wives and families living near at hand, and besides all these we must not forget the men and women who were engaged in supplying them with food. In this way the inhabitants of the Borcovicus region may well have numbered from three to five thousand souls, and among such a mixed multitude treachery might make for itself a good nest, and on occasions when calamities befell the Romans elsewhere might make itself to be felt by them with disastrous results.

The Tungrians, it would seem, garrisoned Borcovicus for about two hundred years, just as the Batavians garrisoned Procolitia for about the same period; and if we assume that they first took up their quarters there about the end of the first century of our era, we may also assume that by the end of the third century they must have been connected by marriage with large

numbers of native families, and that a distinct class of natives, part Dutch and part British in respect of ancestry, must have sprung up. The influence of such a class upon the natives on both sides of the Wall must have been considerable, and its results far-reaching, but it never succeeded in making them soldiers who were able to defend the great Wall against the Caledonians, and Picts, and Scots, without the aid of the pure Tungrian soldier, or his successor.

From the third century hardly anything is told us of the fate of Britain, but it is certain that, even if in the region which lies between the great Wall and the Wall of Antoninus, the Roman system of government never gained a sure footing, the civilization of Rome developed in security to the south of these barriers. In the time of Diocletian the district between the two Walls was evacuated, but the great Wall in Northumbria was occupied, and the rest of the Roman army were encamped at stations between it and York. The cost of the maintenance of the Roman army in England was greater than any revenue which the Romans could possibly draw from the Island, and there is little doubt that but for the importance which was attached to the Briton of the period as a fighting man, they would have abandoned the country long before the fifth century. The Romans regarded the British troops alongside of the Illyrian as the flower of the army, for, as Professor Mommsen says,¹ "there was an earnest and " brave spirit in the people ; they bore willingly the taxes " and the levy, but not the arrogance and brutality of the " officials." In the north of England, and in the neighbourhood of the Wall the civilization of Rome did not develop as fully as in the south, for the inhabitants were given up wholly to hunting and pasturing, and in common with the peoples who dwelt to the north of the Wall they were ever ready for the fray, and, no doubt, when their fights were not followed by defeat or wholesale slaughter,

¹ *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. i., p. 191.

thoroughly enjoyed a struggle with their hereditary foes from the north. The north of England owes a great deal indirectly to the Roman administration of that portion of the Island, and especially to the military highways which were built to connect the garrisons on the Wall with those which were quartered at York and other strongholds in the south; the fine main roads, which were constructed primarily as auxiliaries to these, contributed more to



Stone inscribed with the name of the Twentieth Legion, i.e., Valeria Victrix, and sculptured in relief with the figure of a boar's head in a dish, the emblem of the Legion.

[From Cawfields Mile-castle.]

[No. 264]

the final subjugation of Britain than the mercenaries of Rome.

In connection with Housesteads a brief reference must be made to the excavations made at the mile-castles to the west of the Station by Mr. John Clayton. In 1847 he

published¹ an account of the clearing out of the mile-castle near Haltwhistle Burn Head, between the Stations of Æsica and Borcovicus. Here he found a portion of an inscription which mentioned Aulus Platorius Nepos,² the legate of Hadrian, and in the immediate neighbourhood a stone which had been set up on the Wall at Cawfields Crag to commemorate the Twentieth Legion. Now this Legion had fought under Agricola at the battle with Galgacus and the Caledonians, at the foot of the Grampian Hills, A.D. 84, and it was employed by Hadrian in his work of fortification in Northumbria. Near the eastern gateway of Æsica a mural tablet³ inscribed with the name and titles of Hadrian was also found, and as a result Mr. Clayton came to the conclusion that "between the Stations of Borcovicus and Æsica at least, the Wall of Hadrian has been the most northern of the lines of fortification, and has occupied the site of the Wall ascribed to Severus."

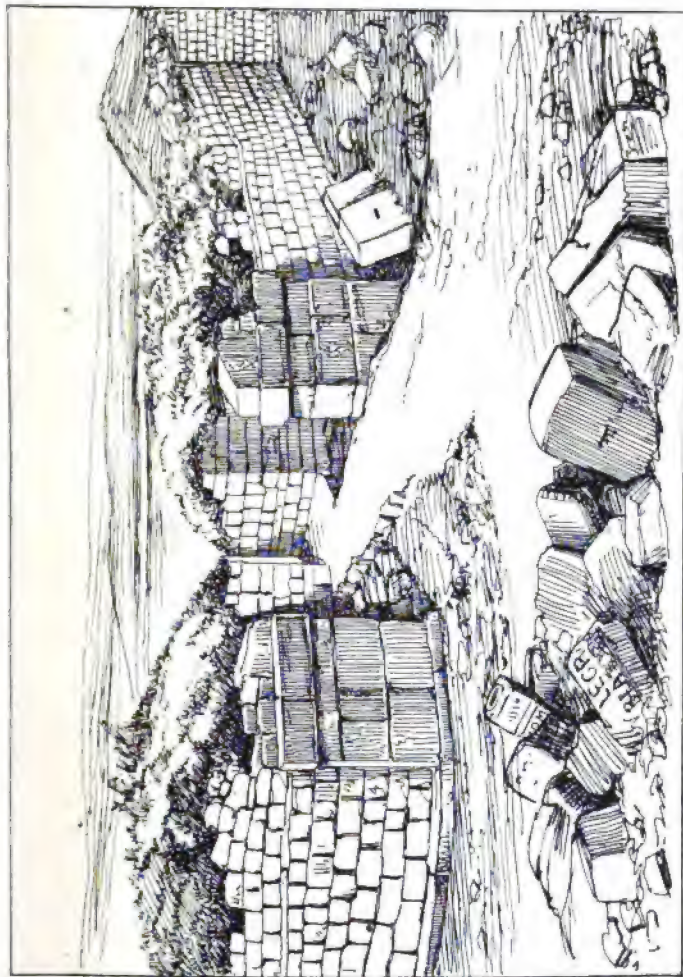
In 1852 Mr. John Clayton excavated the mile-castle which lies immediately to the west of Housesteads and in the account which he gives of his work,⁴ he says that it measured 58 feet from east to west, and 50 feet from north to south. The remains of the northern gateway are very considerable; it is 10 feet wide, and when complete was spanned by an arch; the pillars of the gateway are perfect, and are of a very solid character, measuring 5 feet in breadth, and are carried through the great Wall, which is here 10 feet in thickness. When the garrison became weak the northern gateway was built up to the height of four feet from the original threshold, and above that height its breadth has been reduced from 10 feet to 3 feet 10 inches. The result of this change was the necessity for a second or upper floor, and of this remains have been found. Among the stones of the upper floor was

¹ *Arch. Æl.*, vol. i., Old Series, p. 55 f.

² See the Catalogue at the end of this book, No. 147.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 272.

⁴ See *Arch. Æl.*, vol. iv., Old Series, p. 270.



Sketch of the interior of the Mile-castle lying immediately to the west of the Roman Station of Borcovicus, excavated by John Clayton in 1852.

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found a stone inscribed with the name of Aulus Platorius Nepos, the Legate of Hadrian in Britain, which is the fourth stone bearing this inscription which has been found in the Mile-castles of the neighbourhood. The first part of the first of these stones was obtained by Gordon about the year 1715, and is now at Durham, in the Library of the Dean and Chapter, the second part was discovered in 1831, built into the wall of a farmhouse at Bradley, the property of Sir Edward Blackett, Bart. Duplicates of the inscription which is found in these portions were found in the mile-castle opposite Hot Bank, and the mile-castle at Castle Nick, and the mile-castle at Cawfields, but the details of the circumstances under which they were brought to light are not well known. The finding of the four inscriptions referred to above has always been quoted as a final proof that Hadrian built the Roman Wall, but in reality the proof is not final, because there is not only nothing in any one of the inscriptions to show what Hadrian did in the neighbourhood, but there is also, nothing to show that the inscribed stelae ever had anything to do with the Wall at all. The narratives of those who found the inscriptions and the fragments of inscriptions, which were set up in honour of Hadrian by Aulus Platorius Nepos, prove that the stones on which they are cut were used in making the foundations of the Wall, and that they were discovered in the foundations of the buildings. Now it is quite evident that when an Imperial Legate wished to honour his master by cutting inscriptions in his name he would not use the slabs which he had had made for this purpose as foundation materials, but would insert them in some building in prominent places, both for the sake of his master's glory and his own reputation. The inscriptions which mention Hadrian and Aulus Platorius Nepos may well have been cut to commemorate certain building operations which the Emperor carried out by his Legate, but the fact that the stones on which they are cut were discovered in the foundations of the walls of buildings appertaining to the Wall, and of the

Wall itself, proves clearly that the buildings in which they had once been placed must have fallen into ruins, and that the commemorative stones were only used as materials for making foundations because there was nothing left to commemorate of the buildings to which they belonged. So far from supporting the Hadrianic theory of the origin of the Wall, the above-mentioned stones suggest that when the present stone Wall was built near Housesteads, Hadrian's works, whatever they were, had already perished !

That Hadrian's Legate Aulus Platorius Nepos should set up tablets mentioning his own name, and that of his master Hadrian, is only what is to be expected, but the absence of any mention of Severus—a fact which is dragged in to support the Hadrianic theory—or of any monument of his work along the line of the Wall no more proves that he had nothing to do with the Wall which has been attributed to him, than the absence of any mention, or of any monument of Agricola, proves that that distinguished soldier never built a chain of forts across the Island from sea to sea, or that he never conquered the country. Moreover, without in any way attempting to urge the alleged claims of Severus as the builder of the great Wall, it must be pointed out that Spartian specially tells us that when the Emperor restored the public buildings of the city of Rome he nowhere affixed his name as their repairer, but always kept the titles which had been given to them by their original builders. Whether he acted in this manner in respect of the Roman Wall we know not, and shall, probably, never know, and everyone must regret that the evidence on this and many other subjects connected with the Wall does not permit us to apportion correctly to Agricola, Hadrian, and Severus the credit which is due to them as builders of one of the greatest systems of fortification which the Romans ever planned and carried out in a foreign country.

In the summer of 1882 there were found on the north

side of the Wall, on the Cawfields Farm, two mile-stones and two centurial stones,¹ one inscribed with the name of Victorinus, and the other with a text of two lines which appears to contain a mention of the Durotriges, or the inhabitants of Dorsetshire.

See *Arch. Æl.*, vol. ix., p. 217.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS,
AND THE ROMAN FORTIFICATIONS IN
NORTHUMBRIA.

THE history and fortunes of the Roman Wall are so closely connected with the occupation of Britain by the Romans that it is necessary to summarize the brief information on the subject which we possess, before any attempt is made to consider the Roman Wall itself. According to Tacitus (*Agricola* xiii.), the earliest attack made upon Britain by the Romans was that of Julius Caesar, who, however, "can only be said by a prosperous battle to have struck the natives with terror, and to have made himself master of the sea-shore. The discoverer, not the conqueror of the island, he did no more than show it to posterity." Of the invasion of Britain which Caligula meditated nothing need be said, and we may therefore pass on to the conquest of the island by the Emperor Claudius, who transported into Britain an army composed of regular legions, besides a large body of auxiliaries; this happened about A.D. 43. The first officer of consular rank who commanded in Britain was AULUS PLAUTIUS, and he was succeeded by OSTORIUS SCAPULA: under their auspices the southern part of Britain took the form of a province, and received a colony of veterans, and certain districts were handed over to COGIDUNUS, who remained true to the pledges which he had given to the Romans.

The following is the account which Tacitus¹ gives in

¹ See A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, *The Annals of Tacitus*. London, 1882, p. 211 ff.

his *Annals* (xii. 31 ff.) of the revolt of the Iceni under Caractacus and their defeat by Ostorius:—

“ 31. Meanwhile, in Britain, Publius Ostorius, the
 “ propraetor, found himself confronted by disturbance.
 “ The enemy had burst into the territories of our allies
 “ with all the more fury, as they imagined that a new
 “ general would not march against them with winter
 “ beginning and with an army of which he knew nothing.
 “ Ostorius, well aware that first events are those which
 “ produce alarm or confidence, by a rapid movement of
 “ his light cohorts, cut down all who opposed him,
 “ pursued those who fled, and lest they should rally, and
 “ so an unquiet and treacherous peace might allow no rest
 “ to the general and his troops, he prepared to disarm all
 “ whom he suspected, and to occupy with encampments
 “ the whole country to the Avon and Severn. The Iceni,
 “ a powerful tribe, which war had not weakened, as they
 “ had voluntarily joined our alliance, were the first to
 “ resist. At their instigation the surrounding nations
 “ chose as a battlefield a spot walled in by a rude barrier,
 “ with a narrow approach, impenetrable to cavalry.
 “ Through these defences the Roman general, though
 “ he had with him only the allied troops, without the
 “ strength of the legions, attempted to break, and having
 “ assigned their positions to his cohorts, he equipped
 “ even his cavalry for the work of infantry. Then at a
 “ given signal they forced the barrier, routing the enemy
 “ who were entangled in their own defences. The rebels,
 “ conscious of their guilt, and finding escape barred,
 “ performed many noble feats. In this battle, Marius
 “ Ostorius, the general's son, won the reward for saving a
 “ citizen's life.

“ 32. The defeat of the Iceni quieted those who were
 “ hesitating between war and peace. Then the army was
 “ marched against the Cangi; their territory was ravaged,
 “ spoil taken everywhere without the enemy venturing on
 “ an engagement, or if they attempted to harass our
 “ march by stealthy attacks, their cunning was always

“punished. And now Ostorius had advanced within
 “a little distance of the sea, facing the island Hibernia,¹
 “when feuds broke out among the Brigantes and com-
 “pelled the general’s return, for it was his fixed purpose
 “not to undertake any fresh enterprise till he had con-
 “solidated his previous successes. The Brigantes indeed,
 “when a few who were beginning hostilities had been
 “slain and the rest pardoned, settled down quietly; but
 “on the Silures neither terror nor mercy had the least
 “effect; they persisted in war and could be quelled only
 “by legions encamped in their country. That this might
 “be more promptly effected, a colony of a strong body of
 “veterans was established at Camulodunum² on the con-
 “quered lands, as a defence against the rebels, and as a
 “means of imbuing the allies with respect for our laws.

“33. The army then marched against the Silures, a
 “naturally fierce people and now full of confidence in the
 “might of Caractacus, who by many an indecisive and
 “many a successful battle had raised himself far above
 “all the other generals of the Britons. Inferior in
 “military strength, but deriving an advantage from the
 “deceptiveness of the country, he at once shifted the
 “war by a stratagem into the territory of the Ordovices,
 “where, joined by all who dreaded peace with us, he
 “resolved on a final struggle. He selected a position
 “for the engagement in which advance and retreat alike
 “would be difficult for our men and comparatively
 “easy for his own, and then on some lofty hills, wherever
 “their sides could be approached by a gentle slope, he
 “piled up stones to serve as a rampart. A river too of
 “varying depth was his front, and his armed bands were
 “drawn up before his defences.

“34. Then too the chieftains of the several tribes went
 “from rank to rank, encouraging and confirming the
 “spirit of their men by making light of their fears,
 “kindling their hopes, and by every other warlike in-
 “citement. As for Caractacus, he flew hither and thither

¹ Ireland.

² Maldon.

“ protesting that that day and that battle would be the
 “ beginning of the recovery of their freedom, or of ever-
 “ lasting bondage. He appealed, by name, to their
 “ forefathers who had driven back the dictator Caesar,
 “ by whose valour they were free from the Roman axe
 “ and tribute, and still preserved inviolate the persons
 “ of their wives and of their children. While he was
 “ thus speaking, the host shouted applause; every
 “ warrior bound himself by his national oath not to
 “ shrink from weapons or wounds.

“ 35. Such enthusiasm confounded the Roman general.
 “ The river too in his face, the rampart they added to it,
 “ the frowning hill-tops, the stern resistance and masses
 “ of fighting men everywhere apparent, daunted him.
 “ But his soldiers insisted on battle, exclaiming that
 “ valour could overcome all things; and the prefects
 “ and tribunes, with similar language, stimulated the
 “ ardour of the troops. Ostorius having ascertained by
 “ a survey the inaccessible and the assailable points of
 “ the position, led on his furious men, and crossed the
 “ river without difficulty. When he reached the barrier,
 “ as long as it was a fight with missiles, the wounds and
 “ the slaughter fell chiefly on our soldiers, but when we
 “ had formed the military testudo, and the rude, ill-
 “ compacted fence of stones was torn down, and it was
 “ an equal hand-to-hand engagement, the barbarians
 “ retired to the heights. Yet even there, both light
 “ and heavy armed soldiers rushed to the attack;
 “ the first harassed the foe with missiles, while the
 “ latter closed with them, and the opposing ranks of
 “ the Britons were broken, destitute as they were of
 “ the defence of breastplates or helmets. When they
 “ faced the auxiliaries, they were felled by the swords
 “ and javelins of our legionaries; if they wheeled round,
 “ they were again met by the sabres and spears of the
 “ auxiliaries. It was a glorious victory; the wife and
 “ daughter of Caractacus were captured, and his brothers
 “ too were admitted to surrender.

" 36. There is seldom safety for the unfortunate, and
 " Caractacus, seeking the protection of Cartismandua,
 " queen of the Brigantes, was put in chains and delivered
 " up to the conquerors nine years after the beginning
 " of the war in Britain. His fame had spread thence,
 " and travelled to the neighbouring islands and provinces,
 " and was actually celebrated in Italy. All were eager to
 " see the great man, who for so many years had defied
 " our power. Even at Rome the name of Caractacus was
 " no obscure one ; and the emperor, while he exalted his
 " own glory, enhanced the renown of the vanquished.
 " The people were summoned as to a grand spectacle ;
 " the praetorian cohorts were drawn up under arms in
 " the plain in front of their camp ; then came a pro-
 " cession of the royal vassals, and the ornaments and
 " neck-chains and the spoils which the king had won
 " in wars with other tribes, were displayed. Next were
 " to be seen his brothers, his wife and daughter ; last of
 " all, Caractacus himself. All the rest stooped in their
 " fear to abject supplication ; not so the king, who
 " neither by humble look nor speech sought compassion.

" 37. When he was set before the emperor's tribunal,
 " he spoke as follows : ' Had my moderation in pros-
 " perity been equal to my noble birth and fortune, I
 " should have entered this city as your friend rather
 " than as your captive ; and you would not have dis-
 " dained to receive, under a treaty of peace, a king
 " descended from illustrious ancestors and ruling many
 " nations. My present lot is as glorious to you as it is
 " degrading to myself. I had men and horses, arms and
 " wealth. What wonder if I parted with them re-
 " luctantly ? If you Romans choose to lord it over the
 " world, does it follow that the world is to accept
 " slavery ? Were I to have been at once delivered up as
 " a prisoner, neither my fall nor your triumph would have
 " become famous. My punishment would have been
 " followed by oblivion, whereas, if you save my life, I
 " shall be an everlasting memorial of your clemency.' "

The next governor was DIDIUS GALLUS, who built a few forts (*Agricola* xiv.) "on the remote borders of the province, in hopes of gaining some pretension to the fame of having enlarged the frontier"; he was succeeded first by VERANIUS and then by SÜETONIUS PAULINUS. The last named officer fought with great success for two years, and in that time subdued several states, and secured his conquests by a chain of posts and garrisons; finally he attempted to reduce the Island of Mona, but whilst he was absent on this expedition a general revolt took place. Boadicea attacked the Roman garrisons and slew every man in them, and burnt and destroyed everything she could, and but for the speedy return of Suetonius Paulinus Britain would have been lost to the Romans.

The following is the account which Tacitus¹ gives in his *Annals* (xiv. 29 ff.) of the revolt of the Iceni under Boadicea:—

"29. In the Consulship of Caesonius Paetus and Petronius Turpilianus, a serious disaster was sustained in Britain, where Aulus Didius, the emperor's legate, had merely retained our existing possessions, and his successor Veranius, after having ravaged the Silures in some trifling raids, was prevented by death from extending the war. While he lived, he had a great name for manly independence, though, in his will's final words, he betrayed a flatterer's weakness; for, after heaping adulation on Nero, he added that he should have conquered the province for him, had he lived for the next two years. Now, however, Britain was in the hands of Suetonius Paulinus, who in military knowledge and in popular favour, which allows no one to be without a rival, vied with Corbulo, and aspired to equal the glory of the recovery of Armenia, by the subjugation of Rome's enemies. He therefore prepared to attack the island of Mona,² which had a

¹ See A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, *The Annals of Tacitus*, London, 1882, p. 269 ff.

² Anglesea.

“powerful population and was a refuge for fugitives.
 “He built flat-bottomed vessels to cope with the shallows.
 “and uncertain depths of the sea. Thus the infantry
 “crossed, while the cavalry followed by fording, or, where
 “the water was deep, swam by the side of their horses.

“30. On the shore stood the opposing army with its
 “dense array of armed warriors, while between the ranks
 “dashed women, in black attire like the Furies, with
 “hair dishevelled, waving brands. All around, the Druids,
 “lifting up their hands to heaven, and pouring forth
 “dreadful imprecations, scared our soldiers by the un-
 “familiar sight, so that, as if their limbs were paralyzed.
 “they stood motionless, and exposed to wounds. Then
 “urged by their general’s appeals and mutual encourage-
 “ments not to quail before a troop of frenzied women,
 “they bore the standards onwards, smote down all re-
 “sistance, and wrapped the foe in the flames of his own
 “brands. A force was next set over the conquered, and
 “their groves, devoted to inhuman superstitions, were
 “destroyed. They deemed it indeed a duty to cover
 “their altars with the blood of captives and to consult
 “their deities through human entrails.

“31. Suetonius while thus occupied received tidings of
 “the sudden revolt of the province. Prasutagus, king of
 “the Iceni, famed for his long prosperity, had made the
 “emperor his heir along with his two daughters, under
 “the impression that this token of submission would put
 “his kingdom and his house out of the reach of wrong.
 “But the reverse was the result, so much so that his
 “kingdom was plundered by centurions, his house by
 “slaves, as if they were the spoils of war. First, his
 “wife Boudicea was scourged, and his daughters out-
 “raged. All the chief men of the Iceni, as if Rome had
 “received the whole country as a gift, were stript of
 “their ancestral possessions, and the king’s relatives were
 “made slaves. Roused by these insults and the dread of
 “worse, reduced as they now were into the condition of a
 “province, they flew to arms and stirred to revolt the

“ Trinobantes and others who, not yet cowed by slavery,
 “ had agreed in secret conspiracy to reclaim their freedom.
 “ It was against the veterans that their hatred was most
 “ intense. For these new settlers in the colony of
 “ Camulodunum drove people out of their houses, ejected
 “ them from their farms, called them captives and slaves,
 “ and the lawlessness of the veterans was encouraged by
 “ the soldiers, who lived a similar life and hoped for
 “ similar licence. A temple also erected to the Divine
 “ Claudius was ever before their eyes, a citadel, as it
 “ seemed, of perpetual tyranny. Men chosen as priests
 “ had to squander their whole fortunes under the pretence
 “ of a religious ceremonial. It appeared too no difficult
 “ matter to destroy the colony, undefended as it was by
 “ fortifications, a precaution neglected by our generals,
 “ while they thought more of what was agreeable than of
 “ what was expedient.

“ 32. Meanwhile, without any evident cause, the statue
 “ of Victory at Camulodunum fell prostrate and turned
 “ its back to the enemy, as though it fled before them.
 “ Women excited to frenzy prophesied impending destruc-
 “ tion; ravings in a strange tongue, it was said, were
 “ heard in their Senate-house; their theatre resounded with
 “ wailings, and in the estuary of the Tamesa¹ had been
 “ seen the appearance of an overthrown town; even the
 “ ocean had worn the aspect of blood, and, when the
 “ tide ebbed, there had been left the likenesses of human
 “ forms, marvels interpreted by the Britons, as hopeful, by
 “ the veterans, as alarming. But as Suetonius was far
 “ away, they implored aid from the procurator, Catus
 “ Decianus. All he did was to send two hundred men,
 “ and no more, without regular arms, and there was in
 “ the place but a small military force. Trusting to the
 “ protection of the Temple, hindered too by secret
 “ accomplices in the revolt, who embarrassed their plans,
 “ they had constructed neither fosse nor rampart; nor
 “ had they removed their old men and women, leaving

¹ Thames.

“their youth alone to face the foe. Surprised, as it were,
 “in the midst of peace, they were surrounded by an
 “immense host of barbarians. All else was plundered or
 “fired in the onslaught; the temple, where soldiers had
 “assembled, was stormed after a two days’ siege. The
 “victorious enemy met Petilius Cerealis, commander of
 “the ninth legion, as he was coming to the rescue,
 “routed his troops, and destroyed all his infantry.
 “Cerealis escaped with some cavalry into the camp, and
 “was saved by its fortifications. Alarmed by this disaster
 “and by the fury of the province which he had goaded
 “into war by his rapacity, the procurator Catus crossed
 “over into Gaul.

“33. Suetonius, however, with wonderful resolution,
 “marched amidst a hostile population to Londinium,¹
 “which, though undistinguished by the name of a colony,
 “was much frequented by a number of merchants and
 “trading vessels. Uncertain whether he should choose it
 “as a seat of war, as he looked round on his scanty force
 “of soldiers, and remembered with what a serious warning
 “the rashness to Petilius had been punished, he resolved
 “to save the province at the cost of a single town. Nor
 “did the tears and weeping of the people, as they
 “implored his aid, deter him from giving the signal of
 “departure and receiving into his army all who would go
 “with him. Those who were chained to the spot by the
 “weakness of their sex, or the infirmity of age, or the
 “attractions of the place, were cut off by the enemy.
 “Like ruin fell on the town of Verulamium,² for the
 “barbarians, who delighted in plunder and were in-
 “different to all else, passed by the fortresses with
 “military garrisons, and attacked whatever offered most
 “wealth to the spoiler, and was unsafe for defence.
 “About seventy thousand citizens and allies, it appeared,
 “fell in the places which I have mentioned. For it was
 “not on making prisoners and selling them, or on any of
 “the barter of war, that the enemy was bent, but on

¹ London.

² St. Albans.

“slaughter, on the gibbet, the fire and the cross, like men
 “soon about to pay the penalty, and meanwhile snatching
 “at instant vengeance.

“34. Suetonius had the fourteenth legion with the
 “veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the neigh-
 “bourhood, to the number of about ten thousand armed
 “men, when he prepared to break off delay and fight a
 “battle. He chose a position approached by a narrow
 “defile, closed in at the rear by a forest, having first
 “ascertained that there was not a soldier of the enemy
 “except in his front, where an open plain extended
 “without any danger from ambuscades. His legions
 “were in close array; round them, the light-armed
 “troops, and the cavalry in dense array on the wings.
 “On the other side, the army of the Britons, with its
 “masses of infantry and cavalry, was confidently exulting,
 “a vaster host than ever had assembled, and so fierce in
 “spirit that they actually brought with them, to witness
 “the victory, their wives riding in waggons, which they
 “had placed on the extreme border of the plain.

“35. Boudicea, with her daughters before her in a
 “chariot, went up to tribe after tribe, protesting that it
 “was indeed usual for Britons to fight under the leader-
 “ship of women. ‘But now,’ she said, ‘it is not as a
 “‘woman descended from ancestry, but as one of the
 “‘people that I am avenging lost freedom, my scourged
 “‘body, the outraged chastity of my daughters. Roman
 “‘lust has gone so far that not our very persons, nor even
 “‘age or virginity, are left unpolluted. But heaven is
 “‘on the side of a righteous vengeance; a legion which
 “‘dared to fight has perished; the rest are hiding them-
 “‘selves in their camp, or are thinking anxiously of flight.
 “‘They will not sustain even the din and shout of so
 “‘many thousands, much less our charge and our blows.
 “‘If you weigh well the strength of the armies, and the
 “‘causes of the war, you will see that in this battle you
 “‘must conquer or die. This is a woman’s resolve; as
 “‘for men, they may live and be slaves.’

“ 36. Nor was Suetonius silent at such a crisis. Though
 “ he confided in the valour of his men, he yet mingled
 “ encouragements and entreaties to disdain the clamours
 “ and empty threats of the barbarians. ‘There,’ he said,
 “ ‘you see more women than warriors. Unwarlike, un-
 “ ‘armed, they will give way the moment they have
 “ ‘recognized that sword and that courage of their con-
 “ ‘querors, which have so often routed them. Even
 “ ‘among many legions, it is a few who really decide the
 “ ‘battle, and it will enhance their glory that a small
 “ ‘force should earn the renown of an entire army. Only
 “ ‘close up the ranks, and having discharged your jave-
 “ ‘lins, then with shields and swords continue the work
 “ ‘of bloodshed and destruction, without a thought of
 “ ‘plunder. When once the victory has been won,
 “ ‘everything will be in your power.’ Such was the
 “ enthusiasm which followed the general’s address, and
 “ so promptly did the veteran soldiery, with their long
 “ experience of battles, prepare for the hurling of javelins
 “ that it was with confidence in the result that Suetonius
 “ gave the signal of battle. ”

“ 37. At first, the legion kept its position, clinging to
 “ the narrow defile as a defence; when they had ex-
 “ hausted their missiles, which they discharged with
 “ unerring aim on the closely approaching foe, they rushed
 “ out in a wedge-like column. Similar was the onset of
 “ the auxiliaries, while the cavalry with extended lances
 “ broke through all who offered a strong resistance. The
 “ rest turned their back in flight, and flight proved
 “ difficult, because the surrounding waggons had blocked
 “ retreat. Our soldiers spared not to slay even the
 “ women, while the very beasts of burden, transfixed by
 “ the missiles, swelled the piles of bodies. Great glory,
 “ equal to that of our old victories, was won on that day.
 “ Some indeed say that there fell little less than eighty
 “ thousand of the Britons, with a loss to our soldiers of
 “ about four hundred, and only as many wounded.
 “ Boudicea put an end to her life by poison. Poenius

" Postumus too, camp-prefect of the second legion, when
 " he knew of the success of the men of the fourteenth and
 " twentieth, feeling that he had cheated his legion out of
 " like glory, and had, contrary to all military usage,
 " disregarded the general's orders, threw himself on his
 " sword.

" 38. The whole army was then brought together, and
 " kept under canvas to finish the remainder of the war.
 " The emperor strengthened the forces by sending from
 " Germany two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of
 " auxiliaries, and a thousand cavalry. On their arrival
 " the men of the ninth had their number made up with
 " legionary soldiers. The allied infantry and cavalry were
 " placed in new winter quarters, and whatever tribes still
 " wavered or were hostile were ravaged with fire and
 " sword. Nothing, however, distressed the enemy so
 " much as famine, for they had been careless about
 " sowing corn, people of every age having gone to the
 " war, while they reckoned on our supplies as their own.
 " Nations, too, so high-spirited inclined the more slowly
 " to peace, because Julius Classicanus, who had been sent
 " as successor to Catus, and was at variance with Sue-
 " tonius, let private animosities interfere with the public
 " interest, and had spread an idea that they ought to wait
 " for a new governor who, having neither the anger of an
 " enemy nor the pride of a conqueror, would deal merci-
 " fully with those who had surrendered. At the same time
 " he stated in a despatch to Rome that no cessation of
 " fighting must be expected, unless Suetonius were
 " superseded, attributing that general's disasters to
 " perverseness, and his successes to good luck.

" 39. Accordingly one of the imperial freedmen, Poly-
 " clitus, was sent to survey the state of Britain, Nero
 " having great hopes that his influence would be able not
 " only to establish a good understanding between the
 " governor and the procurator, but also to pacify the
 " rebellious spirit of the barbarians. And Polyclitus, who
 " with his enormous suite had been a burden to Italy and

“Gaul, failed not, as soon as he had crossed the ocean, to
“make his progress a terror even to our soldiers. But to
“the enemy he was a laughing-stock, for they still
“retained some of the fire of liberty, knowing nothing
“yet of the power of freedmen, and so they marvelled to
“see a general and an army who had finished such a war
“cringing to slaves. Everything, however, was softened
“down for the emperor’s ears, and Suetonius was retained
“in the government; but as he subsequently lost a few
“vessels on the shore with the crews, he was ordered, as
“though the war continued, to hand over his army to
“Petronius Turpilianus, who had just resigned his consul-
“ship. Petronius neither challenged the enemy nor was
“himself molested, and veiled this tame inaction under
“the honourable name of peace.”

The next governor was PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, who restored peace, and he was followed by TREBELLIVS MAXIMVS and VETTIUS BOLANVS. Under Vespasian the most able of the Roman officers were sent to reduce Britain, and at their head was PETILIUS CERREALIS; in order to produce terror generally Petilius fell upon the Brigantes, and after a number of fierce fights with them received their submission. He was succeeded A.D. 75 by Julius Frontinus, who reduced the Silures, and he was in turn succeeded by AGRICOLA A.D. 78. When this general arrived in Britain he found the army “lulled in indolence and security, as if the
“campaign was at an end; while the enemy was on
“the watch to seize the first opportunity,” and just before his coming the Ordovicians had fallen upon a company of Roman horsemen and put every one of them to death. Agricola, however, soon attacked the Ordovicians, and as a result of the battle which took place they were routed with great slaughter. He next resolved to reduce the Island of Mona, and having selected a fine body of picked men, he taught them to swim rivers and lakes with such dexterity that they could manage their arms and guide their horses at the same time. The Romans attacked the

Island with such boldness that, in sheer terror, the people thereof surrendered and begged for peace. When Agricola had made an end of all violent hostility among the Britons he began to rule their country with justice and firmness, and he lightened the burden of the natives in many ways. He equalized the taxes, and suppressed the extortions of the tax-gatherer, which were often more serious than the taxes themselves; the collectors were in the habit of impounding all the grain in the provinces, and they would then, as a favour only, allow the growers to purchase what they wanted from the public granaries. The following is the account of Agricola's administration during the first year:—

“§ xx. In¹ the FIRST year of Agricola's administration these abuses were all suppressed. The consequence was that peace, which through the neglect or connivance of former governors was no less terrible than war itself, began to diffuse its blessings, and to be relished by all. As soon as the summer opened he assembled his army and marched in quest of the enemy. Ever present at the head of his lines, he encouraged the strenuous by commendation; he rebuked the sluggard who fell from the rank; he went in person to mark out the station for encampments; he sounded the aestuaries, and explored the woods and forests. The Britons, in the meantime, were by sudden incursions kept in constant alarm. Having spread a general terror through the country, he then suspended his operations, that, in the interval of repose, the barbarians might taste the sweets of peace. In consequence of these measures, several states which till then had breathed a spirit of independence, were induced to lay aside their hostile intentions, and to give hostages for their pacific behaviour. ALONG THE FRONTIER OF THE SEVERAL DISTRICTS WHICH HAD SUBMITTED, A CHAIN OF POSTS WAS ESTABLISHED WITH SO MUCH CARE

¹ See the “Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola.” Printed at Edinburgh by James Robertson, 1813.

“AND JUDGMENT, that no part of the country, even where
“the Roman arms had never penetrated, could think
“itself secure from the vigour of the conqueror.”

During the second year of his rule Agricola established a system of education for the Britons, and he taught them to build houses, temples, etc.: they began to learn Latin, and adopted Roman apparel, and established baths, porticoes, etc., and revelled in Roman luxury. Tacitus continues thus:—

§ xxii. “In the course of the THIRD year, the progress
“of the Roman arms discovered new nations, whose
“territories were laid waste as far as the aestuary called
“the Firth of Tay. The legions had to struggle with
“all the difficulties of a tempestuous season; and yet
“the barbarians, struck with a general panic, never dared
“to hazard an engagement. THE COUNTRY, AS FAR AS
“THE ROMANS ADVANCED, WAS SECURED BY FORTS AND
“GARRISONS. Men of skill and military science observed
“that no officer knew better than Agricola, how to seize,
“on a sudden view, the most advantageous situation,
“and accordingly, not one of the stations, fortified by his
“direction, was taken by storm; not one was forced to
“capitulate; not one was surrendered, or abandoned to
“the enemy. At every post, to enable the garrison to
“stand a siege, a year’s provision was provided, and,
“each place having strength sufficient, frequent sallies
“were made; the besiegers were repulsed, and the
“Romans passed the winter secure from danger. The
“consequence of these precautions was, that the enemy,
“who had been accustomed to retrieve in the winter what
“they lost in the antecedent summer, saw no difference
“of seasons; they were defeated everywhere, and reduced
“to the last despair. Avarice of fame was no part of
“Agricola’s character; nor was he ever known to arrogate
“to himself the praises due to other officers. From the
“commander of the legion to the lowest centurion, all
“found in the general a witness to their conduct. In
“his manner of expressing his disapprobation, he was

“ thought to mix a degree of asperity. The truth is, his
 “ antipathy to bad men was equalled by nothing but his
 “ politeness to the deserving. His anger soon passed
 “ away, and left no trace behind. From his silence you
 “ had nothing to fear. Scorning to disguise his senti-
 “ ments, he acted always with generous warmth, at the
 “ hazard of making enemies. To harbour secret resent-
 “ ment was not his nature.”

§ xxiii. “ The business of the FOURTH campaign was to
 “ secure the country, which had been overrun, not con-
 “ quered, in the preceding summer ; and if the spirit of
 “ the troops and the glory of the Roman name had been
 “ capable of suffering any limits, there was, in Britain
 “ itself, a convenient spot where the boundary of the
 “ empire might have been fixed. The place for that
 “ purpose was where the waters of the Glota and Bodotria
 “ (the Clyde and Forth), driven up the country by the
 “ influx of two opposite seas, are hindered from joining by
 “ a NARROW NECK OF LAND, WHICH WAS THEN GUARDED
 “ BY A CHAIN OF FORTS. On the south side of the isthmus,
 “ the whole country was bridled by the Romans, and
 “ evacuated by the enemy, who were driven, as it were,
 “ into another island.”

In the FIFTH summer Agricola made an expedition by sea, and he lined the coast which lies opposite to Ireland with a body of troops, not so much from an apprehension of danger as with a view to future prospects. In the SIXTH summer Agricola made his fleet to act in concert with his land forces, and fought a battle with the Caledonians, who had stormed a number of Roman forts and castles, and succeeded in striking terror into many Roman officers. Agricola divided his army into three columns and then began his attack ; the Caledonians fell upon the advanced guard of the Ninth Legion, and slew them, but Agricola hemmed in the enemy by two armies, and the main body of the Ninth Legion charging at the same time, the Caledonians were routed with great slaughter, and their remnant fled to the woods and

marshes. In the SEVENTH summer Agricola fought the Battle of the Grampians, wherein he defeated an army of upwards of 30,000 men who were led by Galgacus. The victory was gained chiefly by the bravery of three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts, who charged sword in hand. The Caledonian chariots could not be used effectively, and the hill men, who attempted to attack the Romans in the rear, were obliged to retreat before the Roman cavalry, which pursued them and cut them down as they ran. Ten thousand of the Caledonians fell in the battle, and the Roman loss did not exceed three hundred and forty. When the news of the victory arrived in Rome the Emperor Domitian received it with a smile on his face and malignity in his heart, and as a result Agricola was recalled, A.D. 85, public rumour declaring that he was to be promoted to the governorship of Syria, which was left vacant by the death of Atilius Rufus.

The following is the Latin text of the three paragraphs from the Life of Agricola by Tacitus, of which a rendering has been given above:—

§ xx. “Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine laudare modestiam, disiectos coercene, loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare, et nihil interim apud hostes quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat. parcendo rursus irritamenta pacis ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae sunt, tanta ratione curaue ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars.

§ xxii. “Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere

“ non ausi ; ponendisque insuper castellis, spatium fuit.
 “ Adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates
 “ locorum sapentius legisse ; nullum ab Agricola positum
 “ castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac
 “ fuga desertum. Crebrae eruptiones : nam adversus
 “ moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intre-
 “ pida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis hosti-
 “ bus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna
 “ aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque
 “ hieme juxta pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per
 “ alios gesta avidus intercept ; seu centurio seu praefectus
 “ incorruptum facti testem habebat. Apud quosdam
 “ acerbior in conviciis narrabatur : ut erat comis bonis, ita
 “ adversus malos injucundus. Ceterum ex iracundia nihil
 “ supererat secretum, ut silentium ejus non timeres.
 “ Honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.

§ xxiii. “ Quarta aestas obtinendis, quae percucurrerat,
 “ insumpta ; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis
 “ gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus.
 “ Nam Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per
 “ immensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur.
 “ Quod tum praesidiis firmabatur ; atque omnis propior
 “ sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam insulam
 “ hostibus.”

From what has been said above it is clear that Didius Gallus built a few forts in Britain ; that a chain of posts was established by Agricola with great care and judgment along the frontiers of several districts which had submitted ; that the country, as far as the Romans advanced, was secured by forts and garrisons ; and that a chain of forts ran across the neck of land which separates the Clyde from the Forth. It is, however, quite certain that when Agricola left the Island (A.D. 85) there was no Roman fortification in it in the shape of a long wall ; that the Britains used mud walls as defences long before the coming of the Romans is so well known that it seems idle to mention the fact, and it is quite clear that Agricola believed in strong stone forts, and that the idea of

protecting the spaces between them by a huge stone wall was certainly not carried out in his time.

For about thirty-five years, i.e., from A.D. 85 to A.D. 120, we know nothing of the events which took place in Britain, but in the year A.D. 120, on account of the revolts against Roman authority which were becoming frequent in the Island, the Emperor Hadrian visited our country, and he seems to have travelled as far to the north as York. In the Life of this Emperor which is attributed to Aelius Spartianus we have a mention of his visit. The writer says that "he went to Britain, and put straight many things which were crooked therein, and he was the first to draw a wall eighty thousand paces [long] to divide the Barbarians from the Romans" (*Britanniam periiit: in qua multa correxuit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui Barbaros Romanesque divideret.*)¹ In this passage we have the first mention of the Barrier, in one form or another, which the Romans built across the Island from the Tyne to the Solway; it must be noted that the Barrier is here indicated by the word *MURUS*, i.e., "wall." Spartianus unfortunately does not describe the *MURUS* which he says Hadrian built, but from another passage in his life of that Emperor he tells us that the Barbarians were in several places separated from the Romans by a sort of fence, which was formed by driving long stakes into the ground to a great depth, such stakes being fastened together like a fence which is erected to serve as a wall. ("Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus, sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepis, funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit.")² Such fences were erected where there were no rivers to mark the boundaries between the Barbarians and Romans.

The information which Spartianus gives is valuable because he is the oldest writer who refers to the Roman

¹ *Historiae Augustae*, ed. Boixhorn, tom. iii., p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Vall, and if we could accept his statement on this subject implicitly it would answer the question "Who built the Roman Wall?" once and for all. In connexion with Hadrian's Wall we may note in passing the words of the writer of "Rota Temporum" (quoted both by Camden and Hodgson), who says that Hadrian first of all drew a vallum, a prodigious mass of sods cut from the earth, and big as a mountain, with a very deep fosse added in front, from the mouth of the Tyne to the river Esk, and the German Ocean to the Irish Sea. Now as we must mention Hadrian's Wall, or Vallum as it is commonly called, in another place, we pass on to mention the wars which Antoninus Pius waged in Britain. This Emperor succeeded Hadrian A.D. 138, and in his Life which is attributed to Julius Capitolinus the writer says, "By his legates he carried on very many wars, for he conquered even the Britons by his lieutenant LOLLIVS URBICVS; having driven away the Barbarians, he drew another wall made of turf-sods [from sea to sea], and he compelled the Moors to sue for peace." (Per legatos suos plurima bella gessit. Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum Legatum vicit; alio muro cespiticio, submotis Barbaris, ducto: et Mauros ad pacem postulandum coëgit;¹ etc.) From this passage we learn an important fact, namely, that Julius Capitolinus used the word "murus" to express a wall made of turf-sods; this may be the result of the ignorance of the writer, who probably had no clear idea of what kind of wall Antoninus Pius actually built, or, as Dr. Hodgkin has pointed out,² may be due to a borrowing of words from the Life of Hadrian by Aelius Spartianus. Dr. Hodgkin says, "There are some indications in this passage that it was written, if not by the author of the life of Hadrian, at any rate by someone who had that life before him. It will be seen that it speaks of another wall (alio muro), and that it describes it as 'built of

¹ Boxhorn, *Historiae Augustae*, vol. iii., p. 52.

² *Archaeologia Eliana*, vol. xviii., p. 95.

" 'turf,' a description which the recent explorations of the
 " Glasgow Archaeological Society prove to be exactly
 " accurate, for the sections which they have made show
 " at regular intervals the black streaks of that which was
 " grass alternating with the brown soil, so that in fact we
 " can tell just how many 'cespites' or layers of turf went
 " to the building of each portion of the wall between the
 " Forth and the Clyde, the undoubted wall of Antoninus."
 This turf-sod wall was built about A.D. 140, and there is
 no doubt whatsoever that it was the wall which extended
 over the isthmus between the Firths of Forth and Clyde.
 although an entirely different view is held by the eminent
 German scholar, Professor Theodor Mommsen. In his
 work on the Provinces of the Roman Empire (Chapter V.
 Britain) he carefully describes the connected lines of
 fortification, the first of which, he says, proceeded from
 Hadrian. Having described the wall, and given details
 of its measurements, and told us that it required 10,000 to
 12,000 men to garrison it, he says, " It was not a frontier-
 " wall in the proper sense; on the contrary, not merely
 " did the posts that had already from Agricola's time been
 " pushed forward far beyond it continue to subsist by its
 " side, but subsequently the line, about a half shorter,
 " from the Frith of Forth to the Frith of Clyde, already
 " occupied by Agricola with a chain of posts, was fortified
 " in a similar but weaker way, first under Pius, then in
 " more comprehensive manner under Severus—as it was
 " as an advanced post for Hadrian's wall." Thus it seems
 that Professor Mommsen thinks that the wall built by
 Severus was not that which ran practically parallel with
 the Vallum across the north of England, but that which
 crossed the south of Scotland, between the Frith of Forth
 and the Frith of Clyde, and which is well known as the
 WALL OF ANTONINUS. Professor Mommsen then adds
 " In point of construction this line was different from that
 " of Hadrian only so far as it was limited to a consider-
 " able earthen wall, with fosse in front and road behind
 " and so was not adapted for defence toward the south."



Map of the Wall built by Antoninus Pius across the Island from the Frith of Clyde to the Frith of Forth. The places along the line of this Wall where Roman remains have been found as enumerated by Hübner (*Corpus. Inscr. Latinarum*, tom. vii. p. 194 ff.) are as follows :—

1. Carriden.
2. Numerills.
3. Rough Castle (First Station?).
4. Castlecary (Second Station?).
5. Westerwood (Third Station?).
6. Barhill (Fourth Station?).
7. Auchindavy (Fifth Station?).
8. Kirkintilloch (Sixth Station?).
9. Bemulic (Seventh Station?).
10. Castlehill (Eighth Station?).
11. Dumtocher (Ninth Station?).
12. West Kilpatrick (Tenth Station?).
13. Ardoch.

According to Xiphiline's summary of Dion Cassius (lxxvi. §12, ed. Sturzium, p. 634), the narrowest part of the Island of Britain measured three hundred stadia (*σταδία τριακόσια*); therefore the Wall built by Antoninus Pius must have been somewhat shorter. Gordon's measurements made the length of the Wall of Antoninus to be about $37\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles in length, i.e., 36 English miles and 887 paces, or 39 Roman miles and 969 paces, and a survey of it made for Horsley (*op. cit.*, p. 160) made the length to be $34\frac{1}{2}$ English miles between Old Kirkpatrick and Cærridden.

"moreover, it too included a number of smaller camps." In the long explanatory note which accompanies this passage it is said, "The opinion that the northern wall took the place of the southern is as widely spread as it is untenable; the cohort-camps on Hadrian's wall, as shown to us by the inscriptions of the second century, still subsisted in the main unchanged at the end of the third (for to this epoch belongs the relative notice of the *Notitia*). The two structures subsisted side by side, after the more recent was added; the mass of monuments at the wall of Severus also shows evidently that it continued to be occupied up to the end of the Roman rule in Britain. The building of Severus can only be referred to the northern structure. In the first place, the structure of Hadrian was of such a nature that any sort of restoration of it could not possibly be conceived as a new building, as is said of the wall of Severus; while the structure of Pius was a mere earthen rampart (*murus cespiticius*, *Vita*, c. 5), and such an assumption in its case creates less difficulty. Secondly, the length of Severus's wall, 32 miles (Victor, *Epit.*, 20; the impossible number 132 is an error of our MSS. Eutropius, viii. 19—where Paulus has preserved the correct number; which error has been then taken over by Hieronymus, *Abr.* 2221; Orosius, vii. 17, 7; and Cassiodorus on the year 207), does not suit Hadrian's wall of 80 miles; but the structure of Pius, which according to the data of inscriptions, was about 60 miles long, may well be meant, as the terminal points of the structure of Severus on the two seas may very well have been different and situated closer. Lastly, according to Dio, lxxvi. 12, the Caledonians dwell to the north and the Maeates to the south of the wall which divides the island into two parts, the dwelling-places of the latter are indeed not otherwise known (Comp. lxxv. 5), but cannot possibly, even according to the description which Dio gives of their district, be placed to the south of Hadrian's wall, and those of

“Caledonians have extended up to the latter. Thus what “is here meant is the line from Glasgow to Edinburgh.”¹

During the reign of Commodus, the son of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180) and the younger Faustina, who was born in August, A.D. 161, and was strangled on the night of the 31st of December, A.D. 192, the Britons revolted again and again, and it was necessary for the Romans to crush them once more. Our chief authority for this period, as far as the British rebellion is concerned, is Dion Cassius, whose work from Book lxi. to lxxx. is, unfortunately, only known to us from the abridgment of Xiphilinus of Trapezus, a monk of Constantinople, who made it by the command of the Emperor Michael VII. Ducas (A.D. 1071-1078). Dion Cassius was born about A.D. 151 at Nicaea, and it is thought by Reimarus that he began to collect the materials for his history A.D. 201, and that he did not begin to write his work, which was probably completed about A.D. 222, until after the death of Severus, A.D. 211. It is clear, then, that the testimony of Dion Cassius as regards the state of affairs in Britain under Commodus, even though we have it only at second hand, is of very considerable value, and the following is important for the history of the Roman Wall. In Book lxxii., § 8, he says that in the reign of Commodus the Romans fought many wars with the Barbarians, but that the British war was the greatest of them all. The British peoples passed over the Wall which separated them from the forts of the Romans, and they laid the country waste on all sides, and were so bold as to slay a certain Roman officer and all the men who were with him. Commodus was smitten with fear at this last outrage, and sent Ulpius Marcellus to reduce the rebels to subjection (μέγιστος δὲ ὁ Βρεττανικός. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔθνῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τὸ τεῖχος τὸ διορίζον αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδα, καὶ πολλὰ κακουργούντων, στρατηγὸν τέ τινα μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὓς εἶχε κατακοφύντων, φοβηθεὶς

¹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, English edition (*The Provinces of the Roman Empire*), vol. i., p. 186 f., London, 1886.

ὁ κόμμοδος, Μάρκελλον Οὔλπιον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν).¹ The peoples who crossed the Wall and laid waste the country to the south of it were no doubt the Caledonians, whose ancestors had already given the Romans so much trouble, and the Maeatae, whom Dion Cassius expressly mentions elsewhere (Lib. lxxvi. 12); these people are, he says, the greatest of all the Britons, for all the other tribes are included in them, and he goes on to say that the Maeatae dwell quite close to the Wall, and the Caledonians behind them. (Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστα εἰσι, Καληδόνια καὶ Μαιάται· καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσρήματα (ὡς εἰπεῖν) συγκεχώρηκεν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ διατειχίσματι, ὃ τὴν νῆσον διχῇ τέμνει· Καληδόνιοι δὲ μετ' ἐκείνους.)² Now these two passages prove beyond a doubt that during the reign of Commodus the Island of Britain was believed to be practically divided into two parts by a Wall (τεῖχος), but inasmuch as neither of them tells us where the wall which the Britons crossed was situated, we cannot say whether the Wall of Hadrian in Northumberland, or the Wall of Antoninus Pius in Scotland, is referred to. If we attach any serious meaning to Dion's words about the state of fright of Commodus when he heard of the slaughter of the Roman officer and his men, we must assume that the Wall crossed by the Britons was Hadrian's Wall, and that the country laid waste was the district to the south of it, and that it was some region which the Romans regarded as wholly under their jurisdiction which had been invaded. These are, however, after all only assumptions, and the plain fact is that from Dion's words it is impossible to say which Wall was crossed by the Britons.

After the murder of Commodus, Septimius Severus became Emperor of Rome, and he reigned from January 1st, A.D. 193, until 211. Affairs in the East occupied the greater part of the attention of Severus during the first

¹ Dion Cassius, *Historiae Romanae*, vol. iv., quod complectitur Iohannis Xiphilini excerpta, Leipzig, 1834, p. 471 (Lib. lxxii. 8).

² *Ibid.*, p. 632.

fifteen years of his reign, and it was not until 208 that he was able to consider seriously the position of affairs in Britain. About this time, Dion Cassius tells us (lxxv. 5), the Caledonians had broken faith with the Romans and were making ready to help the Maeatae against them, and they were so successful in their rebellion that the Roman general Lupus was obliged to ransom from the Maeatae at very high prices certain men who had been captured. (*Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐν Βρεττανία, διὰ τὸ τοὺς Καληδονίους μὴ ἐμμεῖναι ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι, τοῖς Μαιαταῖς παρεσκευασμένους ἰμῦναι, καὶ διὰ τὸ τότε τὸν Σεβήρον τῷ παροίκῳ πολέμῳ προσκεῖσθαι, κατηναγκάσθη ὁ Λούπος μεγάλων χρημάτων τὴν εἰρήνην παρὰ τῶν Μαιατῶν ἐκπριασθαι, αἰχμαλώτους τινὰς ὀλίγους ἀπολαβών.*) In the year 208 Severus came to Britain, accompanied by his sons Geta and Caracalla, and immediately set about the work of reducing the Caledonians and their allies the Maeatae; he found that the report on the subject which Virius Lupus had sent him was quite true. When the Britons found that Severus, though, as Herodian¹ says, old and ill with the gout, and so crippled with the disease that he had to be carried in a litter, was actually in their country, they were greatly terrified and wished to treat for peace. Severus, however, turned their envoys back, and would not listen to their representations, and began to collect his forces for a great fight. He made roads through the fens and marshy districts whereon his army might travel, but as his soldiers advanced towards the north he found it to be impossible to fight a pitched battle, because whenever the enemy found themselves to be getting the worst of it, they sought safety in flight, and hid themselves in the woods and fens. In this way the war dragged on for three years, and the Romans must have lost thousands of men in their vain attempt to catch and defeat the northern Barbarians. Herodian

¹ He wrote in Greek, and appears to have been alive in the reign of Gordianus III., i.e., about 238; his history covered the period which lies between A.D. 179 and A.D. 239.

describes their manners and customs in some detail. and tells us that they were a very bloody and warlike people, whose fighting weapons consisted of a small shield and spear, but he does not tell us where such battles as were fought took place; he further says that Severus was very old and infirm, and that he was anxious to transfer the command of the army to his son Antoninus, or Caracalla, but he makes no mention of the building of any wall or fortifications by the Emperor. The narrative of Dion Cassius (lxxvi. 13) is fuller, for he relates that when Severus marched into Caledonia, before he could make any progress he had to drain swampy land, and build bridges, and level hilly ground, and cut down forests, and that in spite of all these exertions he could never make the enemy meet him in a pitched battle. The Caledonians themselves rarely appeared, and during the whole war Severus never saw any large body of them together; they exposed their sheep and cattle, however, but as soon as any Roman soldiers attempted to take them the owners of the beasts dashed out upon them, and very often slew the soldiers. Altogether the Romans lost some fifty thousand men, but Severus would not turn back until he had been carried in a sort of covered litter over the whole Island, and then he returned to his friends (*ἐκομίσθη γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν σκιμποδίῳ καταστέγωντι τὰ πολλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἐς τὴν φιλίαν ἐπανήλθεν*). Before Severus returned, however, he made the Caledonians swear oaths and make a treaty with him, whereby they ceded to the Romans a portion of their country. Soon after this Severus heard that the Caledonians and Maetae had again revolted (Dion Cassius, lxxvi. 15), and having called together a council of his soldiers he ordered them to invade the country of the enemy and to slay every man they met, and commanded them thus in Homer's words;¹ but whilst he was preparing to go and help

¹ Τῶν μὴ τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν δλεθρον
 Χείρας θ' ὑμετέρας· μηδ' ὄντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ
 Κούρον εἶοντα φέροι, μηδ' ὅς φύγοι αἰπὺν δλεθρον.—ILIAD, { 5.

them to wage war against the Caledonians he died of a disease, the evil effects of which had been greatly exaggerated by the bad behaviour of his son Caracalla. Severus died at York, February 4th, A.D. 211.

It is here important to point out that neither Herodian nor Dion Cassius makes mention of the building of any great wall or fortification by Severus to defend the Roman portion of the Island against the Caledonians and Maeatae, whereas several other historians declare quite distinctly that he built a wall across the Island from sea to sea. Thus Aelius Spartianus, in his Life of Severus, says, "The greatest glory of his reign is that he fortified Britain by a wall drawn across the island and ending on both sides with the ocean, wherefore he received the name 'Britannicus.'" ("Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrimque ad finem Oceani munivit: unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit.")¹ In connexion with this passage mention must be made of another,² by the same writer, which is of considerable difficulty, and which has troubled many commentators. The Latin text reads:—

"Post murum apud vallum missum in Britannia, cum ad proximam mansionem rediret, non solum victor, sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata, voluens animo quid ominis sibi occurreret, Æthiops quidam è numero militari, clarae inter scurras famae, et celebratorum semper jocorum, cum corona è cupressu facta eidem occurrit. Quem cum ille iratus removeri ab oculis praecepisset, et coloris ejus tactus omine, et coronae, dixisse ille dicitur 'joci caussa, Totum fuisti, totum vicisti; jam Deus esto victor.'"

This passage has usually been rendered,³ "After the *mur* at the *vallum* in Britain was completed, and the Emperor was returning to the next stage, not as conqueror only, but as founder of eternal peace, and was

¹ *Historiae Augustae*, tom. iii., p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 205, 206.

³ See Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Part II., vol. iii., p. 164.

"thinking within himself what omen might happen to him, an Aethiopian soldier, famous as a mimic, and noted for his jokes, crossed his path, crowned with cypress. Struck with the colour of the man, and his crown, he was angry, and ordered him to be put out of his sight, when the fellow is reported by way of joke to have said, 'Thou hast been everything—conquered everything: now, Conqueror, be a god!' (or 'let God be the conqueror!')". It is, however, pretty clear that the Latin text of the opening words of the passage beginning "Post murum apud vallum missum in Britannia" is corrupt, but whether we should read "Maurum," i.e., "Moor," instead of "murm," is not very certain, for it is not evident what "sending a Moor to the rampart in Britain" means.¹

The view that Severus built a wall across the Island of Britain from sea to sea is also held by Eutropius,² who gives the length of it as eighty (?)—two thousand paces. ("Severus . . . novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit: utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret. vallum per [L]XXXII. millia passuum à mari ad mare deduxit.")³ And again, Sextus Aurelius Victor, who flourished in the first half of the fourth century of our era, says that Severus, the most warlike of all his predecessors, led a wall across Britain from sea to sea and gives its length at thirty-two thousand paces. ("Hic in Britannia vallum per triginta duo passuum millia a mari ad mare deduxit. Fuit bellicosissimus omnium qui ante eum fuerunt.")⁴ The word "centum" appears to have dropped out of the text of this passage.

The testimony of Orosius, who flourished in the first quarter of the fifth century, is to the same effect, for he

¹ See Hodgkin in *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xviii., pp. 97, 106. For *vallum* he suggests *Lugu-vallum*, one of the Stations on the Wall, and for *missum* he would read either *visum*, or *commisum*.

² He flourished during the reigns of Constantine the Great, whose secretary he was, of Julian the Apostate, with whom he went to Persia, and of Valentinian and Valens.

³ *Historiæ Augustæ*, vol. ii., p. 823.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 626.

says that Severus "was drawn into Britain by the defection of nearly all his allies; but having fought many severe battles, he determined to separate the part of the island which he had recovered from the tribes that remained unsubdued, and therefore drew a deep fosse, and a very strong vallum fortified at the top with numerous towers, from sea to sea, over a space of 132 miles."¹ ("Severus victor in Britannias defectu paene omnium sociorum trahitur. Ubi magnis gravibusque proeliis saepe gestis receptam partem insulae a ceteris indomitis gentibus vallo distinguendam patavit. Itaque magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus comunitum, per centum triginta et duo milia passuum a mari ad mare duxit.")² A similar view is held by Cassiodorus, who was born about A.D. 468, and who says that in the reign of Severus, when Aper and Maximus were Consuls (i.e., A.D. 207), the Emperor drew a vallum, one hundred and thirty-two thousand paces long, across Britain from sea to sea, with the view of protecting from the attacks of the barbarians the provinces which had been made a part of the Roman Empire. ("Aper et Maximus. His coss. Severus in Britannos bellum movit; ubi ut receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per cxxxii passuum millia à mari ad mare duxit.")³ From the extracts from Orosius and Cassiodorus we learn that the Barrier which Severus built was provided with numerous towers, and a deep fosse, and we may note in passing that each of these writers describes it by the word "vallum," and not by "murus."

We have now to consider the testimony of Welsh and English writers Gildas, Bede, and Nennius. Of Gildas, who has been called "Historiographus Britonum," nothing is known with certainty, but he appears to have been born

¹ Hodgson, *Hist. Northumberland*, Part II., vol. iii., p. 165.

² Orosius, *Historiarum adversum Paganos*, ed. Zangemeister, Leipzig, 1889, Lib. vii. 17 (p. 257).

³ *Historiae Augustae*, vol. ii., p. 901.

about A.D. 516 and to have died in 570;¹ he wrote a work entitled "De Excidio Britanniae," which contains a brief narrative of the events of British history under the Romans, and between their withdrawal from this country and his own time. According to this writer, Britain was left wholly unprotected when the Roman soldiers departed from it in the train of Maximus, who had been proclaimed Emperor by the soldiers A.D. 383, and who set out soon after for Italy that he might make good his claim to the throne, and the Island is said by Gildas to have fallen a prey to the Scots from the north-west, and the Picts from the north. His own words are:—

"§ 14. After² this, Britain
"is left deprived of all her
"soldiery and armed bands,
"of her cruel governors,
"and of the flower of her
"youth, who went with
"Maximus, but never again
"returned; and utterly ig-
"norant as she was of the
"art of war, groaned in
"amazement for many years
"under the cruelty of two
"foreign nations—the Scots
"from the north-west,
"and the Picts from the
"north.

"§ 14. Ex in³ Britannia
"omni armato milite, mili-
"taribusque copiis, rectori-
"bus linquitur immanibus,
"ingenti juventute spoliata
"(quae comitata vestigiis
"supradicti tyranni domum
"nusquam ultra rediit), et
"omnis belli usus ignara
"penitus; duabus primum
"gentibus transmarinis ve-
"hementer saevis, Scotorum
"à Circione, Pictorum ab
"Aquilone calcabilis mul-
"tos stupet gemetque per
"annos.

¹ See *Acta Sanctorum*, iii., p. 573 ff. (January 29th); the life here published was probably written in the XIth century of our era. The life of Gildas by Caradoc of Llancarvan was written in the XIIIth century.

² The English rendering of the extracts from Gildas is by J. A. Giles, who published it in his *Works of Gildas and Nennius*, London, 1841, p. 13 ff.

³ The Latin text is that of Gale, *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae, Scriptores* xv., Oxford, 1691, p. 4.

“ § 15. The Britons, im-
 “ patient at the assaults of
 “ the Scots and the Picts,
 “ their hostilities and dread-
 “ ful oppressions, send am-
 “ bassadors to Rome with
 “ letters, entreating in pite-
 “ ous terms the assistance
 “ of an armed band to pro-
 “ tect them, and offering
 “ loyal and ready submis-
 “ sion to the authority of
 “ Rome, if they only would
 “ expel their invading foes.
 “ A legion is immediately
 “ sent, forgetting their past
 “ rebellion, and provided
 “ sufficiently with arms.
 “ When they had crossed
 “ over the sea and landed,
 “ they came at once to close
 “ conflict with their cruel
 “ enemies, and slew great
 “ numbers of them. All of
 “ them were driven beyond
 “ the borders, and the
 “ humiliated natives rescued
 “ from the bloody slavery
 “ which awaited them. By
 “ the advice of their protec-
 “ tors, THEY NOW BUILT A
 “ WALL ACROSS THE ISLAND
 “ FROM ONE SEA TO THE
 “ OTHER, which being man-
 “ ned with a proper force,
 “ might be a terror to the
 “ foes whom it was intended
 “ to repel, and a protection

“ § 15. Gens igitur Brito-
 “ num Scotorum Pictorum-
 “ que impetum non ferens,
 “ ob quorum infestationem
 “ ac dirissimam depres-
 “ sionem, legatos Romam
 “ cum epistolis mittit, mili-
 “ tarem manum ad se vindi-
 “ candam lachrymosis pos-
 “ tulationibus poscens, et
 “ subjectionem sui Romano
 “ imperio continue tota
 “ animi virtute (si hostis
 “ longius arceretur) vovens.
 “ Cui mox destinatur legio
 “ praeteriti mali immemor,
 “ sufficienter armis instruc-
 “ ta. Quae ratibus trans
 “ Oceanum in Patriam ad-
 “ vecta, et cominus cum
 “ gravibus hostibus con-
 “ gressa, magnamque ex eis
 “ multitudinem sternens; et
 “ omnes e finibus depulit, et
 “ subjectos cives tam atroci
 “ dilaceratione ex immi-
 “ nenti captivitate liber-
 “ avit. Quos jussit con-
 “ struere inter duo maria
 “ trans insulam murum, ut
 “ esset arcendis hostibus
 “ turba instructus terrori,
 “ civibusque tutamini. Qui
 “ vulgo irrationabili absque
 “ rectore factus, non tam
 “ lapidibus quam cespitibus,
 “ non profuit.

“to their friends whom it
 “covered. But THIS WALL,
 “BEING MADE OF TURF IN-
 “STEAD OF STONE, was of
 “no use to that foolish
 “people, who had no head
 “to guide them.

“§ 16. The Roman legion
 “had no sooner returned
 “home in joy and triumph,
 “than their former foes,
 “like hungry and raven-
 “ing wolves, rushing with
 “greedy jaws upon the fold
 “which is left without a
 “shepherd, are wafted both
 “by the strength of oars-
 “men and the blowing
 “wind, break through the
 “boundaries, and spread
 “slaughter on every side,
 “and like mowers cutting
 “down the ripe corn, they
 “cut up, tread under foot,
 “and overrun the whole
 “country.

“§ 17. And now again
 “they send suppliant am-
 “bassadors, with their gar-
 “ments rent and their
 “heads covered with ashes,
 “imploring assistance from
 “the Romans, and, like
 “timorous chickens, crowd-
 “ing under the protecting
 “wing of their parents, that
 “their wretched country
 “might not altogether be

“§ 16. Illa Legione cum
 “triumpho magno et gaudio
 “domum repetente, illi
 “prios inimici, ac quasi
 “ambrones lupi profunda
 “fame rabidi, siccis faucibus
 “in ovile transilientes, non
 “comparente pastore, alis
 “remorum remigumque
 “brachiis, ac velis vento
 “sinuatis vecti, terminos
 “rumpunt, caeduntque om-
 “nia, et quaeque obvia
 “maturam seu segetem me-
 “tunt, calcant, transeunt.

“§ 17. Itemque mittun-
 “tur queruli legati, scissis
 “(ut dicitur) vestibis, oper-
 “tisque sablone capitibus.
 “impetrantes à Romanis
 “auxilia, ac veluti timidi
 “pulli patrum fidelissimis
 “alis succumbentes, ne
 “penitus misera patria
 “deleteretur, nomenque Ro-
 “manum, quod verbis tan-
 “tum apud eos auribus

“ destroyed, and that the
 “ Roman name, which now
 “ was but an empty sound
 “ to fill the ear, might not
 “ become a reproach even
 “ to distant nations. Upon
 “ this, the Romans, moved
 “ with compassion, as far
 “ as human nature can be,
 “ at the relation of such
 “ horrors, send forward,
 “ like eagles in their flight,
 “ their unexpected bands of
 “ cavalry by land and mari-
 “ ners by sea, and planting
 “ their terrible swords upon
 “ the shoulders of their
 “ enemies, they mow them
 “ down like leaves which
 “ fall at a destined period ;
 “ and as a mountain-torrent
 “ swelled with numerous
 “ streams, and bursting its
 “ banks with roaring noise,
 “ with foaming crest and
 “ yeasty waves rising to the
 “ stars, by whose eddying
 “ currents our eyes are as
 “ it were dazzled, does with
 “ one of its billows over-
 “ whelm every obstacle in
 “ its way, so did our illu-
 “ trious defenders vigorously
 “ drive our enemies’ band
 “ beyond the sea, if any
 “ could so escape them ; for
 “ it was beyond those same
 “ seas that they transported,

“ resultabat, vel exterarum
 “ gentium opprobrio obro-
 “ sum vilesceret. At illi,
 “ quantum humanae na-
 “ turae possibile est, com-
 “ moti tantae historia tra-
 “ goediae, volatus ceu aqui-
 “ larum, equitum in terra,
 “ nautarum in mari, cursus
 “ accelerantes, inopinatos
 “ primum, tandem terri-
 “ biles inimicorum ungues
 “ cervicibus infigunt mucro-
 “ num, casibusque foliorum
 “ tempore certo ad simu-
 “ landam istam peragunt
 “ stragem, ac fit, si mon-
 “ tanus torrens crebris tem-
 “ pestatum rivulis auctus,
 “ sonorosoque meatu alveos
 “ exundans, ac sulcato dorso
 “ fronteque acra, erectis, ut
 “ aiunt, ad nebulas undis
 “ (luminum quibus pupilli
 “ persaepe licet palpebra-
 “ rum convolutibus inno-
 “ vati, adjunctis sibi minu-
 “ tissimarum rotarum tau-
 “ tonibus veluti fuscantur)
 “ mirabiliter spumans ; ast
 “ uno objectas sibi evincit
 “ gurgite moles ; ita aemu-
 “ lorum agmina auxiliares
 “ egregii (si qua tamen
 “ evadere potuerant) pro-
 “ pere trans maria fuga-
 “ verunt, quia anniversarias
 “ avide praedas nullo ob-

“year after year, the plunder
 “which they had gained, no
 “one daring to resist them.

“§ 18. The Romans, there-
 “fore, left the country, giv-
 “ing notice that they could
 “no longer be harassed by
 “such laborious expedi-
 “tions, nor suffer the Roman
 “standards, with so large
 “and brave an army, to be
 “worn out by sea and land
 “by fighting against these
 “unwarlike, plundering va-
 “gabonds; but that the
 “islanders, inuring them-
 “selves to warlike weapons,
 “and bravely fighting,
 “should valiantly protect
 “their country, their pro-
 “perty, wives and children,
 “and, what is dearer than
 “these, their liberty and
 “lives; that they should
 “not suffer their hands to
 “be tied behind their backs
 “by a nation which, unless
 “they were enervated by
 “idleness and sloth, was
 “not more powerful than
 “themselves, but that they
 “should arm those hands
 “with buckler, sword, and
 “spear, ready for the field
 “of battle; and, because
 “they thought this also of
 “advantage to the people
 “they were about to leave,

“sistente trans maria ex-
 “aggerabant.

“§ 18. Igitur Roman:
 “patria reversi, denunti-
 “antes nequaquam se tam
 “laboriosis expeditionibus
 “posse frequentius vexari
 “et, ob imbelles erraticos-
 “que latrunculos, Romana
 “stigmata, tantum talem-
 “que exercitum, terra ac
 “mari fatigari: sed ut In-
 “sula potius, consuescendo
 “armis, ac viriliter dimi-
 “cando, terram, substan-
 “tiolam, conjuges, liberos.
 “et (quod his majus est:
 “libertatem vitamque totis
 “viribus vendicaret, et gen-
 “tibus nequaquam se for-
 “tioribus (nisi segnitia et
 “torpore dissolverentur) ut
 “inermis vinclis vincendas
 “nullo modo, sed instructas
 “peltis, ensibus, hastis, et
 “ad caedem promptas pro-
 “tenderet manus, suadentes
 “(quia et hoc putabant
 “aliquid derelinquendo po-
 “pulo commodi accrescere)
 “murum, non ut alterum.
 “sumptu publico privato-
 “que adjunctis secum
 “miserabilibus indigenis
 “solito structuræ more,
 “tramite à mari usque ad
 “mare inter urbes, quæ

“ they, with the help of the
 “ miserable natives, BUILT
 “ A WALL DIFFERENT FROM
 “ THE FORMER, BY PUBLIC
 “ AND PRIVATE CONTRIBU-
 “ TIONS, AND OF THE SAME
 “ STRUCTURE AS WALLS
 “ GENERALLY, EXTENDING
 “ IN A STRAIGHT LINE FROM
 “ SEA TO SEA, between some
 “ cities, which, from fear of
 “ their enemies, had there
 “ by chance been built.
 “ They then give energetic
 “ counsel to the timorous
 “ natives, and leave them
 “ patterns by which to
 “ manufacture arms. More-
 “ over, on the south coast,
 “ where their vessels lay, as
 “ there was some apprehen-
 “ sion lest the barbarians
 “ might land, they erected
 “ towers at stated intervals,
 “ commanding a prospect
 “ of the sea ; and then left
 “ the island never to return.

“ § 19. No sooner were
 “ they gone, than the Picts
 “ and Scots, like worms
 “ which in the heat of mid-
 “ day come forth from their
 “ holes, hastily land again
 “ from their canoes, in which
 “ they had been carried be-
 “ yond the Cichican valley,
 “ differing one from another
 “ in manners, but inspired

“ ibidem forte ob metum
 “ hostium collocatae fue-
 “ rant, directo librant, fortia
 “ formidoloso populo monita
 “ tradunt, exemplaria in-
 “ stituendorum armorum
 “ relinquunt, in littore quo-
 “ que Oceani ad meridianam
 “ plagam, qua nanes eorum
 “ habebantur, et inde bar-
 “ bariae ferae bestiae time-
 “ bantur, turres per inter-
 “ valla ad prospectum maris
 “ collocant, valedicunt tan-
 “ quam ultra non reversuri.

“ § 19. Itaque illis ad sua
 “ remeantibus, emergunt
 “ certatim de curicis, quibus
 “ sunt trans Tithicam vallem
 “ vecti quasi in alto titane
 “ incalescenteque caumate
 “ de arctissimis foraminum
 “ cavernulis fusci vermicu-
 “ lorum cenei tetri Scotorum
 “ Pictorumque greges, mori-
 “ bus ex parte dissidentes, et

"with the same avidity for
 "blood, and all more eager
 "to shroud their villainous
 "faces in bushy hair than
 "to cover with decent cloth-
 "ing those parts of their
 "body which required it.
 "Moreover, having heard
 "of the departure of our
 "friends, and their resolu-
 "tion never to return, they
 "seized with greater bold-
 "ness than before on all
 "the country towards the
 "extreme north as far as
 "the wall." To oppose them
 "there was placed on the
 "heights a garrison equally
 "slow to fight and ill-
 "adapted to run away, a
 "useless and panic-stricken
 "company, which slum-
 "bered away days and
 "nights on their unprofit-
 "able watch. Meanwhile
 "the hooked weapons of
 "their enemies were not
 "idle, and our wretched
 "countrymen were dragged
 "from the wall and dashed
 "against the ground. Such
 "premature death, how-
 "ever, painful as it was,
 "saved them from seeing
 "the miserable sufferings of
 "their brothers and chil-
 "dren. But why should I
 "say more? They left

"una eademque sanguinis
 "fundendi aviditate con-
 "cordes, furciferosque magis
 "vultus pilis, quam cor-
 "porum pudenda, puden-
 "disque proxima vestibus
 "tegentes: cognitaque con-
 "debitorum reversione, et
 "reditus denegatione, solito
 "confidentius omnem aqui-
 "lonalem, extremamque
 "terrae partem pro indige-
 "nis murotenus capessunt.
 "Statuitur ad haec in edito
 "arcis acies, segnis ad pug-
 "nam, inhabilis ad fugam.
 "tremantibus praecordiis
 "inepta, quae diebus ac
 "noctibus stupido sedili
 "marcebat. Interea non
 "cessant uncinata nodorum
 "tela quibus miserrimi cives
 "de muris tracti solo alli-
 "debantur. Hoc scilicet eis
 "immaturae mortis suppli-
 "cium, qui tali funere rapie-
 "bantur, fratrum quo pig-
 "norum suorum miserandas
 "imminentes poenas cito
 "exitu devitabant. Quid
 "plura loquar? Relictis
 "civitatis murosque cel-
 "so, iterum quibus fugae:
 "iterum dispersiones solito
 "desperabiliore. Item ab
 "hoste insectationes: item
 "strages accelerantur crude-
 "liores: et sicut agui a

“ their cities, abandoned
 “ the protection of the wall,
 “ and dispersed themselves
 “ in flight more desperately
 “ than before. The enemy,
 “ on the other hand, pur-
 “ sued them with more un-
 “ relenting cruelty than be-
 “ fore, and butchered our
 “ countrymen like sheep, so
 “ that their habitations
 “ were like those of savage
 “ beasts; for they turned
 “ their arms upon each
 “ other, and for the sake of
 “ a little sustenance, im-
 “ brued their hands in the
 “ blood of their fellow-
 “ countrymen. Thus foreign
 “ calamities were augmented
 “ by domestic feuds; so
 “ that the whole country
 “ was entirely destitute of
 “ provisions, save such as
 “ could be procured in the
 “ chase.”

“ lanionibus, ita deflendi
 “ cives ab inimicis discer-
 “ puntur, ut commemoratio
 “ eorum ferarum assimi-
 “ laretur agrestium.

“ § 20. Nam laniunt seip-
 “ sos mutuo, nec pro exigui
 “ victus brevi sustentaculo
 “ miserrimorum civium la-
 “ trocinando: et augebantur
 “ extraneae clades domesticis
 “ motibus, quo et hujus
 “ modi tam crebris direp-
 “ tionibus vacuaretur omnis
 “ regio totius cibi baculo,
 “ excepto venatoriae artis
 “ solatio.”

The above extracts are of great interest, because they describe the general condition of the British at the end of the IVth century of our era, and because they tell us that the Romans advised the wretched inhabitants of our country to build first a wall of turf-sods, and secondly, “ a wall different from the former,” by which we are, apparently, to understand a wall of stone. If we judge by the order of his narrative, we must take it for granted that Gildas believed the turf wall to have been built by the unskilled natives towards the end of the IVth century, and the second, or stone wall, which was built by both natives and soldiers, and with both public and

private moneys, about twenty or thirty years later. It is, however, possible that Gildas (or some of his editors) has confused the order of events somewhat.

We now come to the evidence which is to be derived from the "Ecclesiastical History" of the Venerable Bede, who flourished in the first half of the VIIIth century of our era. In the first Book of his History (§ V.) he tells us Severus divided that portion of the Island of Britain which he had recovered from the other unconquered nations, not by a wall (*murus*), as some imagine, but by a rampart (*vallum*). Thus we see that Bede drew a sharp distinction between *murus* and *vallum*, which earlier writers on the Roman Wall failed to do; his actual words are as follows:—

"In¹ the year of our
" Lord 189, Severus, an
" African, born at Leptis,
" in the province of Tri-
" polis, received the imperial
" purple. He was the seven-
" teenth from Augustus, and
" reigned seventeen years.
" Being naturally stern, and
" engaged in many wars, he
" governed the state vigor-
" ously, but with much
" trouble. Having been vic-
" torious in all the grievous
" civil wars which happened
" in his time, he was drawn
" into Britain by the revolt
" of almost all the con-
" federate tribes; and, after
" many great and dangerous
" battles, he thought fit to

" *Anno* ab incarnatione
" Domini CLXXXVIII
" Severus, genere Afer Tri-
" politanus ab oppido Lepti,
" xvii ab Augusto imperium
" adeptus x et vii [or
" xviii] annis tenuit. Hic
" natura saevus, multis sem-
" per bellis lacessitus, for-
" tissime quidem rempupli-
" cam, sed laboriosissime
" rexit. Victor ergo civium
" bellorum, quae ei gravis-
" sima occurrerant, in Brit-
" tania defectu pene omnium
" sociorum trahitur. Ubi
" magnis gravibusque prae-
" liis saepe gestis receptam
" partem insulae a ceteris in-
" domitis gentibus, non mu-
" ro, ut quidam aestimant.

¹ This version was made by J. A. Giles, in his *Ecclesiastical History of the British Nation by Venerable Bede*, London, 1840, p. 12.

“ divide that part of the
 “ island, which he had re-
 “ covered from the other
 “ unconquered nations, not
 “ with a wall, as some
 “ imagine, but with a ram-
 “ part. For a wall is made
 “ of stones, but a rampart,
 “ with which camps are
 “ fortified to repel the power
 “ of enemies, is made of
 “ sods, cut out of the earth,
 “ and raised above the
 “ ground like a wall, having
 “ in front of it the ditch
 “ whence the sods were
 “ taken, and strong stakes
 “ of wood fixed upon its
 “ top. Thus Severus drew
 “ a great and strong ram-
 “ part, fortified with several
 “ towers, from sea to sea ;
 “ and was afterwards taken
 “ sick and died at York,
 “ leaving two sons, Bassia-
 “ nus and Geta ; of whom
 “ Geta died, adjudged a
 “ public enemy ; but Bas-
 “ sianus, having taken the
 “ surname of Antoninus,
 “ obtained the empire.”

“ *sed vallo distinguendam*
 “ *putavit.* Murus etenim de
 “ lapidibus, vallum vero,
 “ quo ad repellendam vim
 “ hostium castra muniun-
 “ tur, fit de cespitibus,
 “ quibus circumcisis, e terra
 “ velut murus exstruitur
 “ altus supra terram, ita ut
 “ in ante sit fossa, de qua
 “ levati sunt cespites, supra
 “ quam sudes de lignis for-
 “ tissimis praefiguntur. *Ita-*
 “ *que Severus magnam fossam*
 “ *firmissimumque vallum,*
 “ *crebris insuper turribus*
 “ *communitum, a mari ad*
 “ *mare duxit.* *Ibique apud*
 “ *Eboracum oppidum morbo*
 “ *obiit.* *Reliquit duos filios,*
 “ *Bassianum et Getam ;*
 “ *quorum Geta hostis publi-*
 “ *cus judicatus interiit, Bas-*
 “ *sianus, Antonio cognomine*
 “ *adsumpto, regno potitus*
 “ *est.*” Bede, *Historia Eccle-*
 “ *siastica Gentis Anglorum,* i.
 v. ed. Plummer, vol. i.,
 pp. 16, 17. Oxford, 1896.

In the eleventh chapter of the same book Bede tells us that the Romans ceased to rule in Britain almost 470 years after Julius Caesar entered the Island, and that they had resided on the south side of the rampart which Severus made across the Island, but that they had had a right of dominion over the farther parts of Britain, as well as over the islands which are beyond Britain. According

to this writer, the Picts and Scots swooped down upon the British and made themselves masters of all the northern parts of the country; his actual words (Book I., chap. 12¹) are as follows :—

“ From ¹ that time, the
 “ south part of Britain,
 “ destitute of armed soldiers,
 “ of martial stores, and of
 “ all its active youth, which
 “ had been led away by the
 “ rashness of the tyrants,
 “ never to return, was wholly
 “ exposed to rapine, as being
 “ totally ignorant of the use
 “ of weapons. Whereupon
 “ they suffered many years
 “ under two very savage
 “ foreign nations, the Scots
 “ from the west, and the
 “ Picts from the north. We
 “ call these foreign nations,
 “ not on account of their be-
 “ ing seated out of Britain,
 “ but because they were
 “ remote from that part of
 “ it which was possessed by
 “ the Britons; two inlets of
 “ the sea lying betwixt them,
 “ one of which runs in far
 “ and broad into the land of
 “ Britain, from the eastern
 “ ocean, and the other from
 “ the western, though they
 “ do not reach so as to touch
 “ one another. The eastern
 “ has in the midst of it the

“ *Exin Britannia* in parte
 “ *Brettonum, omni armato*
 “ *milite, militaribus copiis*
 “ *universis, tota floridæ*
 “ *juventutis alacritate spoli-*
 “ *ata, quæ tyrannorum*
 “ *temeritate abducta nus-*
 “ *quam ultra domum rediit.*
 “ *prædæ tantum patuit.*
 “ *utpote omnis bellici usus*
 “ *prorsus ignara; denique*
 “ *subito duabus gentibus*
 “ *transmarinis vehementer*
 “ *sævis, Scottorum a circio,*
 “ *Pictorum ab aquilone,*
 “ *multos stupet gemitque per*
 “ *annos.* Transmarinas au-
 “ tem dicimus has gentes.
 “ non quod extra Britanniam
 “ essent positæ; sed quia a
 “ parte Brettonum erant
 “ remotæ, duobus sini-
 “ bus maris interjacentibus.
 “ quorum unus ab orientali
 “ mari, alter ab occidentali.
 “ Britanniae terras longe
 “ lateque inrumpit, quamvis
 “ ad se invicem pertingere
 “ non possint. Orientalis
 “ habet in medio sui urbem
 “ Giudi, occidentalis supra
 “ se, hoc est at dexteram

¹ See Giles, *Ecclesiastical History*, p. 21.

“ city Guidi (sic). The
 “ western has on it, that is,
 “ on the right hand thereof,
 “ the city Alcluith, which in
 “ their language signifies the
 “ Rock Cluith, for it is close
 “ by the river of that name.

“ On account of the
 “ irruption of these nations,
 “ the Britons sent messen-
 “ gers to Rome with letters
 “ in a mournful manner,
 “ praying for succour, and
 “ promised perpetual sub-
 “ jection, provided that the
 “ impending enemy should
 “ be driven away. An armed
 “ legion was immediately
 “ sent them, which, arriving
 “ in the island, and engaging
 “ the enemy, slew a great
 “ multitude of them, drove
 “ the rest out of the terri-
 “ tories of their allies, and
 “ having delivered them
 “ from their cruel oppres-
 “ sors, advised them TO
 “ BUILD A WALL BETWEEN
 “ THE TWO SEAS, ACROSS
 “ THE ISLAND, that it might
 “ secure them, and keep off
 “ the enemy; and thus they
 “ returned home with great
 “ triumph. The islanders,
 “ RAISING THE WALL THEY
 “ HAD BEEN DIRECTED, NOT
 “ OF STONE, as having no
 “ artist capable of such a

“ sui, habet urbem Alcluith,
 “ quod lingua eorum signi-
 “ ficat petram Cluith; est
 “ enim juxta fluvium no-
 “ minis illius.

“ *Ob harum ergo infesta-*
 “ *tionem gentium Brettones*
 “ *legatos Romam cum epis-*
 “ *tulis mittentes, lacrimosis*
 “ *precibus auxilia flagita-*
 “ *bant, subjectionem-que con-*
 “ *tinuam, dummodo hostis*
 “ *inminens longius arcere-*
 “ *tur, promittebant. Quibus*
 “ *mox legio destinatur ar-*
 “ *mata, quae, ubi insulam*
 “ *advecta, et congressa est*
 “ *cum hostibus, magnam*
 “ *eorum multitudinem ster-*
 “ *nens, ceteros sociorum*
 “ *finibus expulit; eosque*
 “ *interim a dirissima de-*
 “ *pressione liberatos, hortata*
 “ *est instruere inter duo*
 “ *maria trans insulam*
 “ *murum, qui arcendis hosti-*
 “ *bus posset esse praesidio;*
 “ *sicque domum cum tri-*
 “ *umpho magno reversa est.*
 “ At insulani murum, quem
 “ jussi fuerant, non tam
 “ lapidibus quam cespitibus
 “ construentes, utpote nul-
 “ lum tanti operis artificem
 “ habentes, ad nihil utilem
 “ statuunt. Fecerunt autem

" work, BUT OF SODS, MADE
 " IT OF NO USE. However,
 " they drew it for many
 " miles between the two
 " bays or inlets of the seas,
 " which we have spoken of;
 " to the end that where the
 " defence of the water was
 " wanting, they might use
 " the rampart to defend
 " their borders from the
 " irruptions of the enemies.
 " Of which work there
 " erected, that is, of a
 " rampart of extraordinary
 " breadth and height, there
 " are evident remains to be
 " seen to this day. It be-
 " gins at about two miles
 " distance from the monas-
 " tery of Æbercurnig, on the
 " west, at a place called in
 " the Pictish language, Pean-
 " fahel, but in the English
 " tongue, Penneltun, and
 " running to the eastward,
 " ends near the city Alcluith.

" But the former enemies,
 " when they perceived that
 " the Roman soldiers were
 " gone, immediately coming
 " by sea, broke into the bor-
 " ders, trampled and overran
 " all places, and, like men
 " mowing ripe corn, bore
 " down all before them.
 " Hereupon messengers are
 " again sent to Rome, im-

" eum inter duo freta vel
 " sinus, de quibus diximus.
 " maris, per milia passuum
 " plurima; ut, ubi aquarum
 " munitis deerat, ibi præsi-
 " dio valli fines suos ab
 " hostium inruptione de-
 " fenderent. Cujus operis
 " ibidem facti, id est valli
 " latissimi et altissimi,
 " usque hodie certissima
 " vestigia cernere licet.
 " Incipit autem duorum
 " ferme milium spatio a
 " monasterio Aebbercurnig
 " ad occidentem in loco,
 " qui sermone Pictorum
 " Peanfahel, lingua autem
 " Anglorum Penneltun ap-
 " pellatur; et tendens con-
 " tra occidentem terminatur
 " juxta urbem Alcluith.

" Verum *priores inimici*, ut
 " Romanum militem abisse
 " conspexerant, mox ad-
 " vecti navibus inrumpunt
 " terminos caeduntque omnia,
 " et quasi maturam segetem
 " obvia quaeque metunt, cal-
 " cant, transeunt; unde
 " rursum mittuntur Romam
 " legati, flebili voce auxilium
 " inplorantes, ne penitus

“ ploring aid, lest their
 “ wretched country should
 “ be utterly extirpated, and
 “ the name of a Roman
 “ province so long renowned
 “ among them, being over-
 “ thrown by the cruelties
 “ of barbarous foreigners,
 “ might grow contemptible.
 “ A legion is accordingly
 “ sent again, and arriving
 “ unexpectedly in Autumn,
 “ made great slaughter of
 “ the enemy, obliging all
 “ those that could escape,
 “ to fly beyond the sea;
 “ whereas, before, they were
 “ wont yearly to carry off
 “ their booty without any
 “ opposition.

“ Then the Romans de-
 “ clared to the Britons, that
 “ they could not for the
 “ future undertake such
 “ troublesome expeditions
 “ for their sake, advising
 “ them rather to handle
 “ their weapons, like men,
 “ and undertake them-
 “ selves the charge of
 “ engaging their enemies,
 “ who would not prove too
 “ powerful for them, unless
 “ they were deterred by
 “ cowardice; and, thinking
 “ it might be some help to
 “ their allies, whom they
 “ designed to abandon, they

“ *misera patria deleteretur, ne*
 “ *nomen Romanæ provin-*
 “ *ciæ, quod apud eos tam diu*
 “ *claruerat, exterarum gen-*
 “ *tium improbitate obrutum*
 “ *vilesceat.* Rursum mitti-
 “ tur legio, quæ *inopinata*
 “ *tempore autumnis adveniens,*
 “ *magnas hostium strages*
 “ *dedit, eosque, qui evadere*
 “ *poterant, omnes trans*
 “ *maria fugavit, qui prius*
 “ *anniversarias prædas trans*
 “ *maria nullo obsistente*
 “ *cogere solebant.*

“ Tum Romani denun-
 “ tiavere Brettonibus non
 “ se ultra ob eorum defen-
 “ sionem tam laboriosis ex-
 “ peditionibus posse fatigari;
 “ ipsos potius monent arma
 “ corripere, et certandi cum
 “ hostibus studium subire,
 “ qui non aliam ob causam,
 “ quam si ipsi inertia sol-
 “ verentur, eis possent esse
 “ fortiores. Quin etiam,
 “ quia et hoc sociis, quos
 “ derelinquere cgebantur,
 “ aliquid commodi adlaturum
 “ putabant, murum a mari
 “ ad mare recto tramite inter
 “ urbes quæ ibidem ob metum

In the second extract from Bede's History we find mention of two Walls, the one made of turf-sods, and the other of stone, and of the latter we have some interesting details as to its height and breadth. Remains of this "famous wall," as he calls it, were to be seen in his day. and that portion of it which he saw was twelve feet high and eight feet broad. A perusal of the above extracts will convince the reader that Bede either obtained his information from Gildas, or from some source common to both, and it is quite clear that the turf wall and the stone wall mentioned by each of these writers are the same.

Finally there remains one other authority to be mentioned, i.e., Nennius, who appears to have compiled, or edited, a work entitled *Eulogium Britanniae sive Historia Britonum*, but it has no historical value, and it is doubted by some if Nennius ever had anything to do with it. He is said to have been a disciple of Elbodus (who died A.D. 809), and of Beulanus, a priest, and to have finished his compilation A.D. 859; all this is, however, very doubtful.

According to this writer it was Severus who built a wall (muris) and a mound (agger), 132,000 paces long across the Island; his words are:—

"Severus¹ was the third emperor who passed the sea to " Britain, where, to protect the provinces recovered from " barbaric incursions, he ordered a wall and a rampart to " be made between the Britons, the Scots, and the Picts. " extending across the island from sea to sea, in length " one hundred and thirty-two miles; and it is called in " the British language, Guual. Moreover, he ordered it " to be made between the Britons, and the Picts and " Scots; for the Scots from the west, and the Picts from " the north, unanimously made war against the Britons; " but were at peace among themselves. Not long after " Severus died in Britain."

¹ See Giles, *The History of the Britons by Nennius*, p. 14.

The following Latin text adds a number of particulars which, however, supply no additional information which is of importance here :—

“Tertius fuit Severus, qui transfretavit ad Britannos, ubi receptas Provincias ut ab incursione barbarica faceret tutiores, murum et aggerem a Mari usque ad Mare per latitudinem Britanniae, id est, per cxxxii Millia passuum deduxit, et vocatur Britannico Sermone Gaaul, per cxxxii Milliaria passus, id est, a Pengaaul, quae villa Scotice Cenail. Anglice vero Peneltun dicitur, usque ad ostium fluminis C'luth et Cairpentalloch, quo murus ille finitur rustico opere. Severus ille praedictus construxit, sed nihil profuit. Carutius postea reaedificavit imperator, et vii castellis munivit; interque utraque ostia domumque rotundam politis lapidibus sub ripam fluminis Carun, quod a suo nomine nomen accepit, formicem triumphalem in victoriae memoriam erigens, construxit. Propterea jussit fieri inter Britones et Pictos Scotosque. Quia Scoti ab Occidente et Picti ab Aquilone unanimiter pugnabant contra Britones: nam et ipsi pacem inter se habebant, et non multo post intra Britanniam reversus apud Eboracum cum suis ducibus occiditur.”—Thomas Gale, *Historiae Britannicae, Saxonicae, Anglo-Danicae*, etc., vol. iii. p. 103, Oxford, 1691.

The reader has now before him the whole of the evidence which can be obtained from the works of the classical and British historians who have mentioned or discussed the Roman Wall, and we may briefly summarize the information with which they supply us thus:—1. Agricola built certain forts across part of Northumbria, and a chain of forts across the southern part of the country now called Scotland; ¹ the forts were strongly built, but were completely isolated from each other.

2. Hadrian made a vallum 80,000 paces long, which

¹ See Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, Part ii. vol. iii. p. 167.

stretched across the Island of Britain from the Tyne near Newcastle to the Solway Firth.

3. Lollius Urbicus, the Legate of Antoninus Pius, drew a rampart made of turf-sods from the Forth to the Clyde: how far this rampart followed the line of Agricola's forts cannot be exactly described.

4. The Emperor Severus built a wall of stone across the Island, and it extended from sea to sea.

5. If we accept the statements of Gildas, Bede, and Nennius, we must admit that another turf-sod wall was drawn across the Island in the reign of Honorius, and that in the time of Valentinian III. the Romans assisted the Britons to build a stone wall across the Island from sea to sea. There is, however, good reason for supposing that these British writers had no exact knowledge of the history of the Roman Wall, and that each of them merely repeated the tradition which had come down to him.

We have now briefly to consider the *value* of the testimony which classical writers have borne concerning the builder of the Roman Wall. The *oldest* testimony to the existence of a Wall in the north of Britain is that of Dion Cassius, who tells us that in the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180—192) the Britons passed over the Wall (*τὸ τεῖχος*), and wasted the country south of it, and slew a certain Roman officer and his men; he also says that the Maeatae lived close to the Wall, which cut the Island into two parts. Now the history in which Dion Cassius records these facts was not written down until about A.D. 220, although he himself was grown up when Commodus was reigning, and as Dion Cassius had access to official documents of every kind, we may take it for granted at once that when Commodus was fighting the Maeatae and Caledonians the north of England was crossed from sea to sea by a Wall. Moreover, that Wall is mentioned in such a way as to suggest that it was not a new piece of work, and that, as the Maeatae lived by the side of it (*οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιᾶται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατεχίσματι*), it must have been in existence for a considerable

time comparatively. Unfortunately Dion Cassius neither tells us of what material the Wall was built nor where it was situated exactly, and he says nothing about its builder, but he establishes beyond all doubt the fact that a Wall apparently built by the Romans to separate the conquered portion of Britain from the unconquered existed in the early part of the second century of our era. And besides this, since he wrote his History about A.D. 220 it is clear that he is describing events only about thirty-five or forty years after they had happened.

Our next authority, taken chronologically, is Herodian, who was contemporaneous with Severus, and who describes the means which that Emperor took (B.C. 207-211) to suppress the revolt of the British; but, unless we assume that when he uses the word *χῶμα* he means the Wall, he makes no mention of the Barrier whatsoever. The silence of this writer in respect to the Wall matters but little, for it proves neither that it did, nor that it did not exist: Herodotus describes the Pyramids of Egypt very carefully, and yet he omitted to tell us of the existence of the Sphinx, which is quite close to them.

The next writer whose works are of importance for us is Ælius Spartianus, who flourished about A.D. 290, and of whom we know nothing; but whether we regard him as an "obscure literary hack," or as a "subordinate official in the imperial chancery," as Dr. Hodgkin says, or as a serious authority, his testimony must be duly considered. In his Life of Hadrian he says that this Emperor was the first to draw a wall (*murus*) 80,000 paces long across the island of Britain from sea to sea, and in his Life of Severus he tells us that this Emperor also drew a wall across the island from sea to sea, and that it was the greatest glory of his reign; but the question which now naturally arises is, where were the walls of Hadrian and Severus situated? If we accept Spartian's statement that Hadrian built a wall, we must also accept his statement that Severus built a wall, and we have no right or reason to reject either of these statements in favour

of the other, for they must stand or fall together at present. If it be urged by those who favour the Hadrianic origin of the Wall that the statement of Spartian concerning Severus and his wall is an interpolation, or that it has crept into the text through the carelessness or inadvertence of some scribe or copyist, the opponents of the Hadrianic theory may retort, and rightly, that such views are based upon pure assumption. If Spartian's evidence is to be accepted we must admit that Hadrian and Severus each built a wall. Now if we glance over the subsequent authorities who mention the building of a wall across the Island of Britain from sea to sea, we find that Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Bede, and Nennius, agree in omitting all mention of the building of a wall 80,000 paces long by Hadrian, and that they all¹ declare that Severus built a wall which was 132,000 paces long. We have also to note that whilst Spartian employed the word "murus" to describe the Barrier, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Orosius, Cassiodorus, and Bede make use of the word "vallum," that Gildas speaks of a "muris" between the two seas, and that Nennius describes the fortification as consisting of a "vallum" and "agger." The Venerable Bede goes out of his way to explain the difference between "muris" and "vallum," the former, he says, is built of stones, but the latter is made of sods, cut out of the earth, and raised above the ground like a wall, having in front of it the ditch whence the sods were taken, and strong stakes were fixed upon its top. In the xiith Chapter of his First Book we find, however, that Bede himself describes the useless turf wall which the Britons built by the advice of the Romans as a "muris,"² and therefore we cannot base any argument upon the results of his philological acumen; but there is no doubt that he believed

¹ In the measurement given by Aurelius Victor the word for "hundred" has, very probably, dropped out of the text.

² Hortata est instruere inter duo maria trans insulam MURUM. . . . At insulani MURUM, que jussi fuerant, non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes.

that the great work which Severus carried out consisted of a vallum, which was fortified with several towers situated at no great distance from each other.

Thus we see that the majority of ancient writers believed that Severus carried out some great work in connexion with the Barrier which the Romans drew across the Island from sea to sea, and it now remains for us to inquire what that work was. We know from several sources that Severus restored in Rome a large number of public buildings which were perishing from decay and old age, and that he scarcely ever placed his own name upon such repaired edifices, but preserved everywhere the titles of those who had been the founders. ("Quod Romae omnes aedes "publicas, quae vitio temporum labebantur, instauravit "nusquam prope suo nomine adscripto, servatis tamen ubique titulis conditorum.")¹ Thus there is nothing remarkable in attributing to Severus the carrying out of any great architectural undertaking, and that the work which he did in connexion with the Roman fortifications in Northumberland was of an extraordinary character is proved by the fact that Spartian says it was the "greatest glory of his reign;" in fact it is impossible to avoid the conclusion either that Severus restored or rebuilt some wall which was already in existence when he came to Britain, or that he built an entirely new wall. Now we have it on the authority of Dion Cassius that a great wall existed in Britain before the reign of Commodus: this wall must either have been the turf-sod wall built by Antoninus Pius, or the murus which Spartian says Hadrian built. If we assume, as some do, that this wall was the turf-sod wall which was built by Antoninus Pius between the Forth and the Clyde, its length can never have been 132,000 paces. It cannot be stated as a fact, because there is no satisfactory proof forthcoming, but it is very probable that the wall which Severus found when he came to Britain was that which existed in and before the reign of Commodus, and there is no reason why it

¹ *Historiae Augustae*, vol. iii., p. 205.

should not have been the wall which, according to Spartian, was built by Hadrian, or rather by his command. It is hopeless to guess what manner of wall was built by Hadrian, for nothing is known about it, and no ancient writer supplies any data which will help us; similarly, we know nothing of the wall of Severus, except that it is said to have been 132,000 paces long, and to have been provided with several towers, and to have been protected by a ditch.

The descriptions of the murus or vallum given by classical writers from the time of Spartian downwards, and their direct assertions on the subject, led the eminent antiquaries, Camden and Horsley, and many others, to identify the Roman Wall which extended from Wallsend on the Tyne to Bowness on the Solway, and of which several remains may now be seen, as the wall of Severus, and until the year 1840 it was universally believed that "Severus built the Roman Wall." In 1840 the Rev. John Hodgson published the third volume of the Second Part of his great "History of Northumberland," in which he wrote (p. 309):—"In the progress of the preceding investigations, I have gradually and slowly come to the conviction, that the whole barrier between the Tyne, at Segedunum, and the Solway, at Bowness, and consisting of the vallum and the murus, with all the castella and towers of the latter, and many of the stations on their line, were planned and executed by Hadrian." The learning of this eminent antiquary was so great that, as the result of this expression of his opinion, many people changed their views, and adopted the new theory that Hadrian and not Severus was the builder of the Roman Wall. Among those who were sympathetic and zealous adherents of the theory of the Rev. John Hodgson were the late Mr. John Clayton and the late Dr. Bruce, and it is no doubt owing to their powerful support that the belief that Hadrian built the Roman Wall has obtained general acceptance. From one paper which Mr. Clayton contributed to *Archæologia*

Æliana (vol. iii. p. 142) we may gather that he was originally in favour of the theory that Severus was the builder of the Roman Wall, and from another (*ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 154) we learn that he became convinced of the truth of the Hadrianic theory by the conclusions which the Rev. John Hodgson deduced from the discovery of certain fragments of inscribed slabs bearing the name of Hadrian in the ruins of the mile-castle at Cawfields, and of three other mile-castles in the neighbourhood. These discoveries may support Spartian's statement that Hadrian was the first to build a wall across the Island from sea to sea, but then what is to become of the same writer's statement about Severus, which says that he also built a wall across the Island from sea to sea, and that this wall was the greatest glory of his reign?

These discoveries prove beyond all doubt that Hadrian carried on a work of fortification of some kind, but it depends entirely upon the credibility which we give to the words of Spartian whether we believe that Hadrian repaired and added to some already existing barrier, or that he built an entirely new one. None of the inscriptions which have been found on the Roman Wall has afforded full and decisive evidence as to the builder of the Roman Wall, and exactly the same may be said of all the extracts from classical writers which have been given above. The evidence of classical authorities is extremely unsatisfactory, and, with the exception of Spartian, they all attribute the Roman Wall to Severus; but, as we have already seen, Spartian says that Severus also built a great wall, and that it was the greatest glory of his reign. The net result of all this is that no one really knows who built the Roman Wall, and that the evidence now available is, in the present writer's opinion, wholly insufficient to enable us to decide the difficult problem. Modern authorities on the subject generally maintain an attitude of discreet non-committal, and content themselves with setting forth the statements of ancient writers, leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions; and, under the circumstances, they

cannot be condemned for adopting this course. Thus Professor E. Hübner, in his edition of the Roman inscriptions found in Britain (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, tom. vii. p. 99 ff.), prefaces the section "Vallum Hadriani" which treats of the Picts Wall (chapter xli.) by a learned *résumé* of the known facts, but a decided opinion is nowhere expressed by him as to the builder of the Wall. He admits that the earliest name of a Roman Emperor found in the inscriptions from stations on the Wall is that of Hadrian, and thinks therefore that no Wall existed in Northumberland before his reign; but he makes it quite clear that any statement to the effect that Hadrian built the Wall must rest on the words of Spartian, and Spartian only. Similarly, in another passage, whilst carefully avoiding the expression of any opinion concerning the wall which Spartian says Severus built, he says that no fortification of the kind was built in Britain after the reign of Severus.

The problems that arise in connexion with the question "Who built the Wall" have been ably discussed in two papers which were contributed to the *Archæological Review* (vol. iv. pp. 81 ff. and 153 ff.) by Mr. J. R. Boyle in 1890. The first paper discusses the Stations and the evidence of the Structures of the Vallum and Murus, and the second paper deals with the inscribed slabs upon which the Hadrianic theory is based, and the Quarry Inscriptions, and the evidence of ancient historians; Mr. Boyle's deductions from *facts* are both fair and reasonable, and his indictment of the Hadrianic theory is undoubtedly the ablest which has been put forward. As the facts on which he argues have been already given above, it is only necessary to reproduce his conclusions, which he states thus:—
"We have seen that the line of Stations between Wallsend
"and Bowness constitute a united system of frontier
"camps. Their structural peculiarities are proof that
"they were erected before the murus was contemplated.
"The vallum, we have also seen, bears evidence in the
"arrangement of its ramparts and ditch, and in its relative

“ position to the murus, both when it is unusually near
 “ and when it is far away, and especially when it touches
 “ the latter work, that it is the earlier structure, and was
 “ thrown up against a northern foe. The murus, in
 “ yielding an inscription to Hadrian from the founda-
 “ tions of one of its mile-castles, has asserted itself to be
 “ later than the reign of that emperor. The inscriptions
 “ of the Gelt Rock and Combe Crag tell us, as plainly as
 “ language could, of Roman building operations in the
 “ mural region throughout the sojourn of Severus in this
 “ island. The repairs and restorations of Amboglanna
 “ and Borcovicus, and of the mile-castles between the
 “ latter Station and Aesica, are certainly the work of a
 “ waning power, and belong, therefore, to a period long
 “ after that of Severus. All these positions are borne out
 “ by the testimony of ancient historians. Tacitus tells us
 “ how Agricola enclosed the territory of the Brigantes with
 “ camps. Spartianus records the fact that Hadrian built,
 “ as was his practice, a wall from river to river; and
 “ Capitolinus describes the second British structure of
 “ this kind, that raised in Scotland by Antoninus Pius, as
 “ ‘ another cespitious wall.’ Spartianus also tells us of
 “ the later wall, which elsewhere he calls ‘ the wall near
 “ the vallum,’ built by Severus. Herein he is supported,
 “ amongst others, by Orosius, who mentions the fosse and
 “ the many towers of that wall. Thus the Stations, the
 “ Vallum, and the murus, by their own testimony, and that
 “ of written history, are seen to be the works of successive
 “ periods and generations of men. It is no part of my
 “ task to pass a verdict on the Hadrianic theory; but I
 “ am at least entitled to say that that theory sets aside the
 “ whole body of evidence which it is the object of this
 “ article to bring forward, and therefore, if only one
 “ section of that evidence be held to be sound, ‘ the Ælian
 “ ‘ hypothesis ’ may be finally dismissed.”

In a carefully thought-out paper published in *Archaeologia Æliana* (vol. xviii. p. 83) Dr. Hodgkin discussed the
 “ Literary History of the Roman Wall ” with great fairness

and candour, but it seems clear that, on the evidence which we now possess, he is unwilling to give his adhesion either to the supporters of the Hadrianic origin of the Wall or to their opponents. In an article contributed to the *Athenaeum* (No. 3881, March 15, 1902, p. 345), Mr. F. Haverfield speaks of "Hadrian's Wall," and we may therefore assume that he still thinks the Wall was built by Hadrian; and we note that he calls the Vallum a "strange earthwork," and says that it was not a "military work," but one which was intended to mark off the military works—wall, forts, mile-castles, and the rest—from the provinces behind.

In his paper "Five Years' Excavation on the Roman Wall" (*Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiquarian and Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv., 1899, p. 341) Mr. Haverfield declares that the ditch and the mounds of the Vallum were constructed at one time, and that the work is Roman, and that its object is not military; the non-military character of the Vallum was pointed out by General Pitt Rivers many years ago, and his opinion was confirmed, as Mr. Haverfield notices, by certain eminent military authorities. As regards the date of the Vallum Mr. Haverfield thinks that it can scarcely be later than the "Stone Wall forts" and milecastles: nor can it be earlier since it deviates "to avoid them."

"It is natural, therefore, to adopt one part of Hodson's and Bruce's theory, call Vallum and Wall contemporary and ascribe both to Hadrian. We know from inscriptions [sic] and literature that that Emperor erected a wall, with forts and milecastles, from sea to sea, and, at first sight, that wall would seem identical with the Stone Wall that can be traced mile after mile across the moors, and its forts and milecastles, with the buildings on which we still look with astonishment. If this is so, the Vallum must represent a line of civil or legal delimitation, just as the Wall unquestionably forms the military barrier, and both were constructed about A.D. 124." Mr. Haverfield then goes on to describe the remains of a

stretch of Turf Wall, two miles long, which he found during the course of his excavations at Birdoswald; as this runs under both under the Stone Wall and the Station it must be older than they, and he thinks it possible that it is "the sole surviving relic of a Turf Wall which once reached from sea to sea, and when, at some later date, the existing Stone Wall was built, that was raised precisely on the top of it except for two miles at Birdoswald. . . . In that case we shall conclude that Hadrian built a Turf Wall, with forts and milecastles of some sort, and the Vallum, and that the Wall was afterwards rebuilt in stone at a period of which the stone inscriptions of the Wall certainly give us no indication. On the other hand the Turf Wall is only two miles long; it may be an exceptional work, due to local circumstances now beyond ascertainment."

The opposite view by the Rev. William Greenwell, F.R.S., holds¹ that the Vallum, with its ditch and two mounds running along on the south of the great Wall, and the Wall itself, were two distinct works, and two distinct lines of defence. The builders of the Wall would not have used earth for the southern defence when abundant stone for their purpose existed throughout the whole of its course. Had the two lines of defence been constructed by the same engineer as parts of one system, they would have been built on the same plan, and the southern line would have been built of stone. Since the Vallum leaves the Wall, and is at certain points far from the Wall, it can never have served as a defence for the Wall at those points. Mr. Greenwell further says, "It has been held by many that Hadrian was the builder [of the Wall], and this view is thought to be supported by the fact that some stones have been found near the Wall bearing the names of officials who lived during his reign. I am not, however, prepared to accept this evidence as conclusive. The question of the builder is

¹ *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Durham*, vol. iii., 1890, p. ci.

"one still open to dispute, and the whole question demands further investigation." This expression of his opinion Mr. Greenwell gave in 1890, but three years later we find him saying¹ definitely that he believed, with the earlier authorities, that Severus built the Wall. The Stations had been constructed first; then had come the Vallum, and next the Wall. The Hadrianic theory was that the Stations, the Vallum, and the Wall were all parts of one great defensive arrangement. There, however, he joined issue completely. He had stated some years ago that it seemed to him quite out of the question to suppose that the Vallum and the Wall were two portions of one great whole. He was now still more strongly of the opinion that they were two perfectly distinct lines of fortification; the Vallum and the Wall were two works erected by different people at different times. The Vallum was no support to the Wall. If the two works were intended to form one defence, the second arrangement seemed to be unnecessary. If the two works were built by the same man, why should one be of stone, and the other of earth? He believed that Hadrian built the Vallum, and that Severus built the Wall. The fact that so many conflicting views and opinions about the builder of the Wall exist among the most able archaeologists well illustrates the difficulty which envelopes the whole subject.

¹ Ibid., vol. iv., 1893, p. xxxix.

² The following remarks on the subject by the late Mr. Cadwallader J. Bates (*History of Northumberland*, 1895, p. 6 ff.) are very much to the point:—"Much might be said to justify the addition to this list of 'prehistoric antiquities of the lines of earthworks, stretching from the Tyne at Newcastle to Dykesfield near the Solway, known in popular archaeology under the name of 'The Vallum.' The historian of Northumberland is confronted at the outset with the triple problem presented by the remains of the Roman Wall, and however earnestly he may wish to treat his subject in a manner that may commend it to the general reader, runs the greatest risk of being at once engaged in one of the most complicated of controversies. It is as if the history of England were necessarily to be prefaced with a dissertation on the authorship of the 'Letters of Junius,' or that of France with a laborious identification of the Man in the Iron Mask. The evidence afforded by the remains themselves, and by the references made to them by historians, is not only too meagre, to warrant any definite

That, however, Mr. Greenwell, the most eminent living authority on the subject, decides in favour of Severus being the builder of the Wall, and that Dr. Hodgkin espouses no theory, prove that the foundations of the Hadrianic theory are not so sure as they have been generally supposed to be.

In the absence of definite information as to the origin and development of the great Roman Wall across the north of England, with its system of forts, mile-castles, etc., and of the Vallum, the nature of the country to be defended against the Picts and the Scots, and the condition and habits of the peoples on both sides of the Barrier must be taken into account. The Picts and Scots, and their ancestors, must have been in the habit of invading the territory of the people whom we may call Ancient Britons long before the arrival of the Roman Legions, and we shall not be assuming anything which is contrary to the greatest probability if we state that the Britons attempted to defend themselves against them, and that their principal means of defence consisted of a turf wall with a ditch on the side of it that faced their enemies. It is well known that the Ancient Britons built dykes in many parts of the country, and the remains of these prove that they were made with considerable skill and care. Supposing the Britons to have constructed such a wall, it is extremely unlikely that it extended right across the Island from sea to sea, or that it continued in an unbroken line for very many miles at a time; but it is quite possible that a group of comparatively short walls or barriers of earth existed between the two seas in ancient

“ conclusion, as to their origin, but is often apparently contradictory.
“ Instead, then, of attempting to bolster up by special pleading any
“ dogmatic assertions as to the date or dates of the construction of
“ these lines of earthworks, of the stone wall, following the same course
“ on the north, and of the forts connected with both, it seems better
“ at once to declare that the whole question is still an open one; and,
“ instead of playing the part of an advocate, to sum up the evidence,
“ such as it is, in as judicial a spirit as possible. For this purpose,
“ however, it is necessary, all the same, to adopt a hypothesis of some
“ sort, in order to marshal the facts of the case.”

British times. When Agricola arrived and began to have experience of the methods of attack employed by the Picts and Scots, he decided to build a number of strong forts, wherein garrisons could be placed, and from which Roman soldiers could make sallies upon marauders and invaders; the stations of Cilurnum, Vindolana, Carvoran, etc., probably date from his time.¹ When he had continued his conquests northwards he built a chain of forts across the island from the Forth to the Clyde. These forts seem to have answered the purpose for which they were intended, and none of them was ever captured by the enemy. Whether meanwhile the Britons took steps to build new earthworks or to repair any of the old ones which existed cannot be said, but it is probable that they did, for a combined attack would enable the enemy to force their way between the forts towards the south, and unless the Britons were protected by their own turf or earth walls they would, if the Romans were driven to seek shelter in their forts, suffer great defeat and slaughter. According to Mr. Greenwell, the building of the "inscrutable Vallum" followed the erection of the forts by the Romans, but, according to Mr. Haverfield, the Vallum was not a military work² at all, and Mr. J. P. Gibson is of opinion that it was not a fortification

¹ Mr. J. P. Gibson, of Hexham, well says:—"The great Roman road known as the Stanegate, has been traced from the west of the camp leading by way of Walwick Grange, Newbrough, and Grindon Hill, to Vindolana and Carvoran. These two early camps, together with another important but unnamed camp, situated at the point where General Wade's road crosses the Caw Burn, form part of the earliest line of forts crossing the island which were erected by the Britons."—*Transactions, Durham and North. Arch. Soc.*, vol. iv., p. li.

² "In the north of England, on Hadrian's Wall, the course of the strange earthwork called the Vallum was traced by excavation where it was hitherto unknown, near the fort of Castlesteads, ten miles east of Carlisle. It was found to deviate from its natural line and pass south of the fort—not, as everyone has hitherto thought, to run on north of it. This fact is noteworthy. Combined with other discoveries of the last four or five years, it tends to prove that the normal course of the Vallum lies to the south of the military works—wall, forts, milecastles, and the rest—which defend the frontier between Tyne and Solway. Not itself a military work, it seems

in the first instance, but a road from camp to camp. If we assume that the Vallum was a mere military road from camp to camp in Agricola's time, it is probable

“intended to mark off these military works from the province behind. Only one definitely mural fort lies south of the Vallum. This is Carvoran, and its case is perhaps significant, since it is the one definitely mural fort which is directly approached by roads from the south. It is therefore like Carlisle and Corchester, and like them it stands outside—that is, south of the Vallum. Very possibly this intended purpose of the Vallum was not fulfilled; the frontier works outgrew their limits. But our recent discoveries seem to indicate some such intention at the outset.”—*Athenaeum*, No. 3881, March 15, 1902, p. 345.

With this view may be compared that of Mr. MacLauchlan (*Memoir* written during a survey of the Roman Wall, London, 1858, p. 5) who says that the Vallum “was laid out, in the first instance, as a way of communication between the Stations, of which the two remarkable bends, the one near Halton, and the other near Chesterholm, are considered to be some indication; but whether laid out as a foss, like the Foss-way between Bath and Cirencester, or like the Roman Watling Street, there is not evidence to decide; but the bold curves in it, and the places where the angles in it take place would suggest a similarity to the Watling Street. This would [lead one to] infer that the Vallum was made before the Wall; and the two places where this idea was first engendered were, firstly, the course of the two barriers immediately west of the Inn, called the ‘Iron Sign,’ between Heddon on the Wall and Harlow Hill, and, secondly, between Chollerford and Sewingshields, where what is supposed to have been the original course of the Vallum has forced the Wall, apparently from the nature of the ground, to take a closer position with regard to the Vallum than it would otherwise have done.” On the other hand Horsley thought (*Britannia Romana*, p. 125) that what is now called Hadrian's north *agger* was the most antient military way leading from station to station; and that the work, attributed to Hadrian, which was after this, was guided and limited by it, as it keeps a constant parallelism to it. The north *agger*, considered as such a military way, is, as far as I can judge, conducted according to the Roman art and rules in every part of it. It is carried on in the shortest line from station to station. And this without doubt is the true reason why it runs so much upon the southern skirts of the northern hills, the shortest line leading that way. This is particularly remarkable in the small hill near Halton Chesters, which I have mentioned before. The direct line of the way would have led over the hill, but to avoid climbing it, a small turn is made to carry it round the skirt; and it passes on the south side rather than the north, because this is the shorter and more convenient way to the station, to which it is tending. The other parts of Hadrian's work keep their due distance and parallelism, bending exactly in the same manner as the north *agger* does, and so running at a few yards distance to the south of the hill. In a word, the north *agger*, or old military way, keeps just such a course, and runs through such grounds, as one would expect such a Roman way should do.”

that it was made out of some British roads, which were very ancient, even in ante-Roman times, and that the Roman military engineers, seeing that such roads might be made a tolerably effective means of defence, repaired, and modified, and strengthened them, and so formed the great earthwork which is universally known as the Vallum. The Roman camps must have been connected by roads, and the means of communication would, we may be sure, be made as safe as possible. To maintain an earth wall with a ditch on the side of it which faced the enemy was no easy matter, especially in a country with a climate like that of Northumbria, where the heavy rains would wash away its surfaces continually. The Roman military engineers must have appreciated this difficulty very early in the period of the Roman occupation of our country, and there is little doubt that they strengthened the Vallum by driving deep into the ground stakes which they bound together like a mural fence. Spartian tells us¹ that Hadrian was in the habit of dividing the territories of the Barbarians from those of the Romans by means of great stakes, which were first driven deep into the ground and then laced together in some way, and it is probably due to this statement that many archaeologists have decided in their minds that Hadrian treated the Vallum in this way, and that he was the builder of it. That Hadrian ordered some great and important work of fortification to be carried out in Northumbria there is no reason for doubting, but there is no direct proof that he built the Vallum, although it seems natural to assume that he greatly strengthened the means of defence which then existed, and added to them. It must, however, have been quite evident to Hadrian's military engineers that the Vallum could never be turned into a really efficient barrier against the Picts and Scots, or serve all the

¹ "Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus non fluminibus, sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis, in modum muralis sepi, funditus jactis atque connexis, barbaros separavit." *Historiae Augustae*, vol. iii., p. 18.

purposes which the Romans wished it to serve, and the suggestion to build a strong stone wall must have been made soon after the Romans seriously took in hand the subjugation and pacification of Britain; but whether Hadrian or Severus carried that suggestion into effect cannot be said definitively. Without any way suggesting a compromise as a way out of the difficulty, a common sense and probable view is that Hadrian caused the Vallum to be supplemented by walls and forts built of stone in such extremely exposed and commanding positions as we find at and near Borcovicus, and that about eighty-six years after this Emperor left Britain, Severus ordered these to be repaired and the whole of the Roman fortifications to be built of stone, and the Wall to be carried across the Island from sea to sea. The one serious obstacle to the acceptance of this view is the statement of Spartian that Hadrian built, from sea to sea, a wall 80,000 paces long, but it must never be forgotten that this assertion is not supported by the testimony of any other writer, and that the evidence deduced from the inscriptions found at Cawfields and other mile-castles which has been usually adduced in support of it is wholly inconclusive.

CHAPTER X.

THE ROMAN WALL.

ANTIQUARIES and archaeologists, for more than three hundred years past, have been in the habit of describing the great systems of fortifications which the Romans built across our Island, from the Tyne to the Solway, for the purpose of protecting against the Picts and Scots the peoples whom they had brought into subjection, by the name of "The Roman Wall"; in so doing they followed the example of earlier writers, who were content to regard the Vallum and its ditch, the *aggers*, and the great stone Wall, with its deep ditch on the side which faces the enemy, and its stations, forts, and mile-castles, as merely the different parts of one great fortified work. Dion Cassius called the Roman Wall which existed in the time of Commodus, "τείχος"; Herodian called it¹ "χῶμα"; Spartian called it "murus"; Julius Capitolinus, Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Orosius, and Cassiodorus called it "vallum," and in the north of England it has been called "Gual Sever," "Mer Sever," "Scottiswarth," "Picts Wall," "Pehits Wall," "Keepe Wall," "Thirle Wall," etc.² At the present time the wall which is indicated by these epithets is universally known as the "Roman Wall." It must, however, be remembered that the Romans built two walls from the Tyne to the Solway, that is to say

¹ It is probable, however, that he really refers to some great earth-work.

² See Camden, *Britannia*, London, 1587, p. 532. Other well-known names for the Wall are "Vallum Barbaricum," "Praetentura," and "Clusura."

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one which was made of turf sods, and which is commonly known as the "vallum," and one made of stone, and of which remains still stand. The Vallum and the Wall cross the Island in a comparatively direct line, but they never approach each other nearer than one hundred feet, and at times the distance between them amounts to about five hundred yards.¹ It has been the custom to say that both the Vallum and the Wall are "so arranged as to afford each other the greatest amount of support which the nature of the country allows," but it is extremely difficult to see how such a statement can be substantiated, especially in the face of the expert military opinion which declared that no Roman military engineer could ever have regarded the Vallum as a complement of the Wall, or the Wall of the Vallum.

The Roman writer Spartian says that the Wall (*mur*) which Hadrian built across the Island from sea to sea was 80,000 paces long, and the Wall "from the river Tyne on the east to the Solway Frith on the west, including the Stations, is about $73\frac{1}{2}$ miles, which will be found near to the Roman account."² According to Gordon, the length was 73,959 Roman paces, which were equal to 73 Roman miles and 959 paces, which were equal to 68 English miles and 169 paces. Horsley declared that the Wall was not 73 miles long, and that the Vallum was two or three miles shorter, on account of its straightness. He found that there had been eighty-one military castella, so that if the "Romans in a general way called every interval a mile, one with another, . . . this might be looked upon as a plausible reason why the historian should say it was 80 miles long" (*Brit. Romana*, p. 122). The mean thickness of the Wall may be taken to have been about 8 feet, or, according to Horsley (*op. cit.*, p. 122), "a Roman pace and a-half;" Dr. Bruce found that it varied from 6 feet to

¹ For a list of distances see Hodgson, *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 278 (note *f*).

² H. MacLauchlan, *Memoir*, p. 5.

9½ feet, but thought that the "prevailing width" was 8 feet. The height of the Wall is uncertain, but the remains of it which were seen by the Venerable Bede were 12 feet high, and we are probably right in assuming that when in a complete condition its height was about 20 feet. Camden and Cotton in 1599 found the Wall 15 feet high and 9 feet broad; Gibson, Gordon, and Horsley found it 9 feet high in the same place (Walltown Crags), and Brand's measurement was 8 feet 3 inches.¹

Of the general state of the Wall in the middle of the XVIth century we obtain a very good idea from a letter written to William Claxton (about 1572) by Sir Christopher Ridley, which will be found in the "History of Northumberland," by the Rev. John Hodgson (tom. iii., part 2, page 273). The text is very interesting, and reads: "Rycht worschippfull, where as you spake unto me for a certayne knowledge of one wall builded betwyxt the Brittons and Pightes (which we call the Kepe Wall builded by the Pightes, sure theyr is one. The length whereof is about, I think, almost a C myles, bilded alwayis whar they cold upon the hyghtes, whereon about the greatest cragis was, and whare theyr was no cragis or hy placis theyr was a great stank of other syd. the bredth iij yards—the hyght remanith in sum placis yet vij yards. it goith from Bowlness in Cu'berland viii myles beyond Carlell, upon the west sea cost till it comes to a town called the Wallis end besyd Tynemouth on the est sea, at every mylis end theyr hath been a great bildyng or castle having thre curtyngis, two base courtyngis and one iner, with a great stanke round about and a draw bridge, a wall outsyde the stank four square, and ten score every square. I know certayn of the names of them, theyr is on in Cumberland called burdoswold, next to it in Northumberland, one called Carvoran, now belonging to Mr. William Blenkynsop the next a myle from that another in Mr. John Rydley's ground of the Waltone and called the Chester, then

¹ *History of Northumberland*, vol. iii., pt. ii., p. 276.

" theyr one in Nycholas Rydleys of Willimotswycke one
 " called the Castel sted and another called Overtone.
 " theyn in Mr. Heronis ground, one called Swynshellis,
 " another called Carrawe, etc. and at every half myle end
 " is theyr a tower. now in this wall was theyr a trunck
 " of brass or whatever kynd of mettall which went from
 " one place to another along the wall, and came into the
 " Captaynes chamber where at they had watchers for the
 " same, and yf theyr had bene stryfe or business betwyxt
 " the ennemies and that the watchman did blow a horn
 " in at the end of the truncke that came into the chamber,
 " and so from one to one, theyr was certayn money payed
 " yearly to the maintenance of this trunck by the inhabi-
 " tants theyrabout, and doith yet pay to some gentilmen
 " in Northymberland, the which money is called horn
 " geld money. theyr is mansiounes & Churches that hath
 " been bilded with in the wall and theyr hath bene 4 great
 " ditches bilded within it all the way. And betweyne the
 " wall and the ditches hath ther been a fair way paved all
 " along the wall, and theyre doth go from a castell
 " (above named, Carvoran) unto the mayden Castell on
 " Stanemore, a fayre way paved through great morasses and
 " hyghtes, and is called the Mayden way, which is thought
 " to bene builded by a kyngis daughter dwelling at the
 " same Castell. God have you in his love and grace.
 " Yours etc., Christop. Ridley."

According to this letter the Wall, in some parts of it at
 least, was seven yards, i.e., twenty-one feet high, and three
 yards, or nine feet, in width ; its condition at the present
 time loudly declares the extent of the depredations which
 have been made upon it by farmers and landowners, who
 have erected buildings and made bridges, drains, and
 roads of its stones.

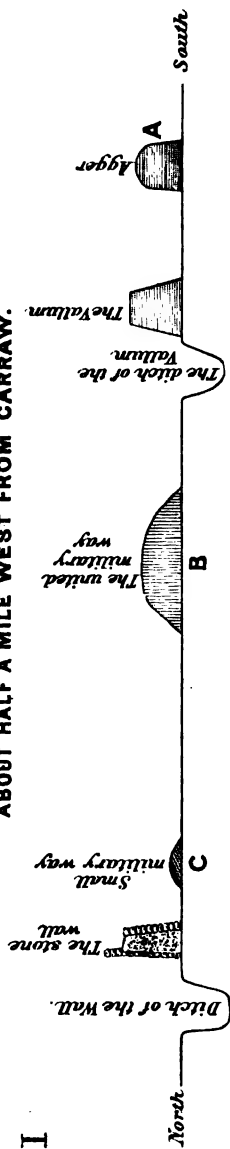
On the side of the Wall which faced the enemy, i.e., on
 the north side, there ran a fosse or ditch from one side of
 our Island to the other, and though various investigators
 assign different measurements to its width and depth, we
 are justified in assuming that it was about 12 or 15 feet

deep, and about 40 in width.¹ This ditch appears not to have been V-shaped, but to have had a flat bottom, like the ditch which accompanied the Vallum; it was cut straight through stone, rock, and earth indifferently, and it never left the Wall, a fact which shows how great was the importance which the Romans attached to it as a means of defence.

The relative arrangement of the various Roman fortifications, which are generally grouped under the title "Roman Wall," will be made clear from the annexed cuts, which are based upon scale drawings by Horsley. (*Britannia Romana*, p. 158), and it will be seen that the Wall and the Vallum form two distinct systems of defence. To the south of the Vallum in Section No. I. and its ditch ran the *agger* (A), and to the north of it ran the military way (B), which Horsley calls the "united military way." Similarly to the south of the Wall runs a small military way (C). In Section No. II. we have the same arrangement in each case, but between the old military way (A) and the smaller military way (B) we have a third military way (C), which Horsley calls "the greater military way." The *agger* and the military way (Section I., A and B) lie at a distance of about 30 feet from the Vallum itself. The southern prospect of the Vallum, "and the defence "on that side are generally better than on the north: "whereas the northern prospect and defence have been "principally or only taken care of in 'the Stone Wall' "Such considerations as these have induced some to "believe, that what now goes by the name of Hadrian's "work [i.e., the Vallum] was originally designed for a "fence against any sudden insurrection of the provincial "Britons, and particularly of the Brigantes; whilst others "look upon it as a *fossa interior*, an inner fortification for "the soldiers to retreat to after they had been beaten off "by the northern enemy from their principal *vallum*. "Both agree in this, that Hadrian must have built a more "northerly *vallum* than those which now bear his name.

¹ See Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 276.

THE PROFILE OF THE ROMAN WALLS IN NORTHUMBERLAND
ABOUT HALF A MILE WEST FROM CARRAW.



THE PROFILE OF THE WALLS ABOUT A MILE WEST FROM CARRAW.



[Scale about 30 feet to the inch]

[From Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, Plate No. II, to illustrate page 158]

"and that this must have stood upon the same track "where Severus afterwards erected his wall." (Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, p. 125.)

The statement that "the Vallum and the Murus always "contract the width of the interval between them as they "approach a river, apparently for no other purpose than "a close protection of the military way, and the defence "of one bridge," and the view that "the works themselves furnish us with the best proof that the whole is "one design, and the production of one period" (Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 364), are shown to be incorrect by the fact that as the works approach the River Tyne they slightly broaden out on each side.¹ There are three places where the close approach of the Wall to the Vallum seems to militate against their being of contemporaneous construction. The first is at Highseat, about three quarters of a mile west of Rutchester; the second is about a mile west of Carraw; and the third, about half a mile east of the Irthing. There are also instances along the line where the Wall appears to have been turned in its course for no other reason than to avoid running in upon the Vallum, on the supposition that the latter was made first.² The general trend of the evidence available goes to show that the *agger*, or military way, on the north side of the Vallum, was made at the same time as the earliest Stations across the Island, and that it served both as a road and a means of defence. When the Vallum was made it seems to have been thought advisable to place it on the south of the military way, or *agger* "and it is presumed that the two south ramparts [i.e. "the Vallum and the southern *agger*] were formed out of "the earth taken from the ditch, the one nearer the ditch "being possibly strengthened with palisades."³ At all events it seems to be certain that the Vallum is older than the Wall.

The Wall, according to the Rev. J. Hodgson,⁴ consisted

¹ See MacLauchlan's *Memoir*, p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 90.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ *Northumberland*, vol. iii., pt. ii., p. 276.

of four parts, namely:—1. The WALL itself, which extended from the Tyne to the Solway. 2. Seventeen¹ STATIONS connected in a right line with the Wall. 3. Eighty-one CASTELLA, or square towers attached to the Wall, at the distance of a Roman mile from each other. 4. Four TURRETS between each castellum.

The foundations of the WALL generally, and all its upper courses of facing stones, “have been laid parallel to the horizon and to each other; so that in slopes the work must have been commenced at the bottom and advanced upwards, to buttress it backwards, and thus prevent it sliding as it was built. In some steep ascents it is, however, built more according to the rules of masonic art; and the courses of its facing stones lie all parallel to the horizon at the Castle-nick, at the head of Craiglough, where three or four of them laid in lime and sand, and the rude rubble work between them, have been built in successive flats, and each flat as it was at its height, smoothed over with a sort of stiffish grooting or strong coarse mortar made of lime, mixed with the chippings of the facing stones, gravel, and broken tiles and basalt pressed down among the fillings, so as to bind them together as solidly as the basaltic rock on which they are founded. The mortar generally, over dry ground, remains quite hard; but below the surface and in damp places has perished. The facing stones are all of hewn sandstone, and those near the bottom are generally about 8 inches square on the face, and 18 inches long in the bed—farther up each course is about 6 inches thick.”²

The STATIONS on and near the Wall, which according to the *Notitia Dignitatum* were twenty-three in number, were to all intents and purposes strongly fortified Roman towns, wherein the inhabitants lived practically always under martial law. Most of them were actually on the Wall itself, and of those which are not a few were probably

¹ The number of Stations mentioned in the *Notitia* is *twenty-three*.

² Hodgson, *Northumberland*, vol. iii., pt. ii., p. 277.

founded by Agricola; the Stations vary in extent from about one to nearly six acres, they are always strongly fortified with walls from six to nine feet thick, such walls being always accompanied by ditches. Each Station was provided with four gateways at least, and its area was crossed by two main streets which bisected each other at right angles; a Station of the importance of Chester possessed its forum, and market, and praetorium, and baths, and numbers of small streets and little buildings which were occupied by minor officials and others; the greater part of the population of a Station consisted, of course, of soldiers.

The CASTELLA, or Mile-castles, were by Horsley thought to be 81 in number, i.e., there was the distance of a Roman mile between each; this view is probably correct, and supports the statement of Spartian to the effect that Hadrian built a wall 80,000 paces, i.e., 80 Roman miles long. These interesting buildings were first examined by Gordon, who says that they were rectangular, and that they measured 66 feet each way; recent investigations have shown that they generally measure about 60 feet one way, and 50 the other. The Rev. John Hodgson measured the mile-castle of Tower Tave, and found that in the inside it was 63 feet from north to south, and 58 feet from east to west, and the results of the measurements of other *castella* gave 62½ feet (N. to S.) by 62 feet (E. to W.), 60 feet by 51 feet, 57 feet by 61 feet, and 62 feet by 50 feet respectively. The *castella* were built when the Wall was built, and indeed the Wall itself formed their northern wall; each castellum appears to have been provided with two gates, one in its northern and one in its southern wall.

The TURRETS of the Wall were small rectangular buildings, which measured about 12 feet by 10 feet, and they had walls nearly three feet thick; their northern sides were built into the Wall itself, and they served the purposes of look-out towers. Gordon first noticed the remains of five of these between Tower Tave and Walwick

Town ; Horsley found that the distance between two of them was 308 yards,¹ and came to the conclusion that there were four turrets to every mile, and therefore that the whole number of the turrets on the Wall was three hundred and twenty.

According to the important Latin work "Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum," there were twenty-three Stations on the Roman Wall, and we find that some were commanded by Prefects, and some by Tribunes. The "Notitia" is, unfortunately, not a very ancient work, for it is generally thought to have been written towards the end of the reign of Theodosius the Younger, who died A.D. 450 ; its importance for our purpose, however, consists in the fact that it helps us to understand by what forces the Roman Wall in Northumbria was held when the "Notitia" was first compiled. This work has been described as a "Court Calendar," and a "Roman Army List and Civil Service List" combined ; since it contains authentic lists of all the great officials, both civil and military, of the Eastern and Western Empires, its evidence is of peculiar value for every student of the history of the Roman Wall. After enumerating the nine detachments of soldiers which were stationed in the south of Britain, and were under the command of the "Count of the Saxon Shore in Britain," all the other forces noticed in this work as then in Britain were "under the disposal of the respectable personage, the Duke of Britain."² Under the heading "Along the line of the Vallum," we have the following :—

1. The Tribune of the Fourth Cohort of the Lingones at Segedunum.
2. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Cornovii at Pons Ælii.
3. The Prefect of the First Ala of the Astures at Condercum.

¹ *Britannia Romana*, p. 120.

² Hodgson, *Northumberland*, vol. iii., part ii., p. 162.

4. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Frixagi at Vindobala.
5. The Prefect of the Savinian Ala at Hunnum.
6. The Prefect of the Second Ala of the Astures at Cilurnum.
7. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Batavians at Procolitia.
8. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Tungri at Borcovicus.
9. The Tribune of the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls at Vindolana.
10. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Astures at Æsica.
11. The Tribune of the Second Cohort of the Dalmatians at Magna.
12. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Dacians. [called] Ælia, at Amboglanna.
13. The Prefect of the Ala Petriana at Petrianae.
14. The Prefect of the Detachment of Moors called Aureliani, at Aballaba.
15. The Tribune of the Second Cohort of the Lingones at Congavata.
16. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Spaniards at Axelodunum.
17. The Tribune of the Second Cohort of the Thracians at Gabrosentis.
18. The Tribune of the First Cohort of Marines called Ælia, at Tunnocelum.
19. The Tribune of the First Cohort of the Morini at Glannibanta.
20. The Tribune of the Third Cohort of the Nervii at Alionis.
21. The Cuneus of armoured horsemen at Bremet-enracum.
22. The Prefect of the First Ala [called] Herculean at Olenacum.
23. The Tribune of the Sixth Cohort of the Nervii at Virosidium.

The Latin text of the above extract from the "Notitia" is as follows:—

CAPUT XXXVIII.¹

DUX BRITANNIARUM.

[B.] ITEM PER LINEAM VALLI.

1. Tribunus Cohortis Quartae Lingonum Segeduno,
2. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Cornoviorum Ponte Ælii,
3. Praefectus Primae Asturum Conderco,
4. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Frixagorum Vindobala,
5. Praefectus Alae Savinianae Hunno,
6. Praefectus Alae Secundae Asturum Cilurno,
7. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Batavorum Procolitia,
8. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Tungrorum Borcovicio,
9. Tribunus Cohortis Quartae Gallorum Vindolana,
10. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Asturum Æsica,
11. Tribunus Cohortis Secundae Dalmatarum Magnis,
12. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Æliae Dacorum Ambog-
lanna,
13. Praefectus Alae Petrianæ Petrianis,
14. Praefectus Numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum Aballaba,
15. Tribunus Cohortis Secundae Lingonum Congavata,
16. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Hispanorum Axeloduno,
17. Tribunus Cohortis Secundae Thracum Gabrosenti,
18. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Æliae Classicae Tunno-
celo,
19. Tribunus Cohortis Primae Morinorum Glannibanta,
20. Tribunus Cohortis Tertiae Nerviorum Alione;
21. Cuneus Armaturarum Bremetenraco;
22. Praefectus Alae Primae Herculeae Alenaco;
23. Tribunus Cohortis Sextae Nerviorum Virosidio.

Before we pass on to enumerate the modern equivalents of the Latin names for the Stations on the Wall, or discuss the manning of it, we must note that in the "Notitia" the Vallum, with its ditch and *agger*, or

¹ See Eduardus Böcking, *Notitia Dignitatum et administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis*, Bonn, 1839-1853, tom. ii., p. 113 ff.

aggers, and the stone Wall, with its ditch, Stations, castella, turrets, and military way or ways, are all grouped together under the name of "Vallum."

In the twenty-three Stations "along the line of the Vallum" were 16 tribunes, each commanding a cohort, and of the other six prefects one had a "numerus" or detachment, and the rest each an Ala or wing. The style of the commander of the *cuneus*¹ is not given. Assuming that each of the 16 cohorts on the Wall contained 600 men, and that each of the other corps contained 400 men, there must have been about 12,400 stationed on the Wall; this estimate, which is that of the Rev. John Hodgson, does not take into account the legionary soldiers who must have been employed largely in the Stations and at various places on the Wall.

APPENDIX I. TO CHAPTER X.

The following is a summary of the Stations, with their modern names.

1. SEGEDUNUM, which was garrisoned by the Fourth Cohort of the Lingones, is represented, as Gordon thought, by WALLSEND; the Lingones came from "that part of *Gallia Celtica* in which the rivers Seine and Marne take their rise," and four Cohorts² of them, "i.e., about 2400 men, were stationed in Britain. The station was situated about three miles east of Newcastle, and in 1783 was found there an altar which had been dedicated to Jove by Aelius Rufus, the prefect of the Fourth Cohort of the Lingones; thus Gordon's suggestion was proved to be correct.

2. PONS ÆLII, which was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Cornovii, is represented by NEWCASTLE: of the Cornovii and their home nothing is known.

3. CONDERCUM, which was garrisoned by the First

¹ I.e., originally, troops drawn up for battle in the wedge formation.

² The cohort was the tenth part of a legion (6000 men), and contained three manipuli, or six centuriae.

Ala of the Astures, is represented by BENWELL. The Astures, or Asturians, came from a district in the north of Spain, and were famed for their bravery and warlike qualities; the second Ala of the Asturians garrisoned Cilurnum (Chesters), and two Cohorts of Asturians were also stationed in Britain. The Ala was composed of Roman cavalry and of horsemen from the allies, and contained about 500 men; thus the Asturians in Britain numbered about 1000 cavalry and 1200 infantry.

4. VINDOBALA, which was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Frixagi, is represented by RUTCHESTER; of the Frixagi nothing is known, but Böcking suggests that for *Frixagorum* we should read *Frisiavonum*, i.e., Frisians.

5. HUNNUM, which was garrisoned by the cavalry regiment known as the Savinian Ala, is represented by HALTON CHESTERS. It has been supposed that this Ala derived its name from Sabina, Hadrian's wife, or from Sabina Tranquillina, Gordian's wife, or from some prefect who bore the name of Sabinus.¹ A sepulchral stele with an inscription stating that it had been set up in memory of Noricus by his brother Messorius Magnus, a *duplaris*² of the Sabinian Ala, was found here, and thus it is certain that Hunnum = Halton Chesters; the stele is at Trinity College, Cambridge.

6. CILURNUM, which was garrisoned by the Second Ala of the Asturians, was identified by Horsley as CHESTERS, and several inscriptions found at this place prove the correctness of the identification.

7. PROCOLITIA, which was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Batavians, or Dutchmen, is represented by CARRAWBURGH.

8. BORCOVICUS, which was garrisoned by the First Cohort of the Tungrians, is represented by HOUSESTEADS; the Tungrians migrated from Germany into Gaul, and the Cohort of them which was stationed at Borcovicus appears to have consisted of 1000 men.

¹ Bruce, *Lapidarium*, p. 49.

² A *duplaris* was a soldier who received double pay for his services.

which measured about 140 yards by 110 yards, but the exact position of the east wall is not known.

GABROSENTIS. This Station is assumed to have measured 110 yards by about 65 yards, and to have had a total area of about 3 acres.

TUNNOCELUM. This Station was in the form of a rectangle, which measured 240 yards by 110 yards, and had an area of 5½ acres.

The sites of the four remaining Stations mentioned in the "Notitia" have not as yet been identified.

APPENDIX IV. TO CHAPTER X.

ANCIENT AND MODERN AUTHORITIES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WALL.

TACITUS—Agricola, capp. xx., xxii., xxiii.

TACITUS—Annals, xii. § 31 ff., xiv. § 29 ff.

DION CASSIUS, according to Xiphilinus, lxxii. 8, lxxv. 5. lxxvi. 12, 13.

SPARTIANUS, Life of Hadrian (*Historiae Augustae*, ed. Boxborn, 1632, tom. iii., pp. 16, 18).

SPARTIANUS, Life of Severus (*Historiae Augustae*, tom. iii., pp. 199).

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS, Life of Antoninus Pius (*Historiae Augustae*, tom. iii., p. 52).

EUTROPIUS, Life of Severus (*Historiae Augustae*, tom. ii., p. 823).

AURELIUS VICTOR, Life of Severus (*Historiae Augustae*, tom. ii., p. 626).

OROSIUS, *Historiarum adversus Paganos*, vii. 17.

CASSIODORUS, *Chronicon* (*Historiae Augustae*, tom. ii., p. 901).

The "Notitia Dignitatum," cap. xxxviii., ed. Böcking.

GILDAS, *De Excidio Britanniae*, §§ 14-19.

BEDE, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, i. 5, 12.

NENNIUS, *Historia Britonum*, §§ 21, 23.

CAMDEN, William, "Britannia, sive Florentissimorum

"Regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae, et insularum adjacentium," etc., London, 1586. On pp. 532-536 (2nd ed., 1587) is a section entitled "Murus Picticus," which gives all the facts about the Roman Wall which were available in Camden's time. Further editions of the Latin text were published in 1590, 1594, 1600, 1607, 1616, etc. An English translation of Camden's work was published by Richard Gough, in four volumes, folio, 2nd ed., London, 1806, and in this, under the heading "Additions," are a supplementary Chapter to Camden's "Murus Picticus," and a map.

GORDON, Alexander, "Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most of the counties of Scotland and North of England." London, 1726. Folio.

HORSLEY, John, M.A., F.R.S., "Britannia Romana: or the Roman Antiquities of Britain, in three books." London, 1732. Folio. Horsley's work contains four chapters on Roman Walls of the greatest importance, viz., Chap. vii. An account of the Roman *praetenturae* in the north of England, and particularly of the Stations *per lineam valli*; Chap. viii. The antient state of Hadrian's Vallum, and the Wall of Severus; Chap. ix. (same title as Chap. viii.); Chap. x. The antient and present state of the Roman Wall in Scotland, and the forts upon it.

WARBURTON, John, F.R.S., and Somerset Herald, "Vallum Romanum: or the History and Antiquities of the Roman Wall. The whole illustrated with a map of the Walls, Military Ways, and Stations, laid down by a new Geometrical Survey," etc. London, 1753. 4to.

WALLIS, John, "The Natural History and Antiquities of Northumberland, and of so much of the County of Durham as lies between the Rivers Tyne and Tweed." London, 1769. 4to.

STUKELEY, W., "Iter Boreale," 1776.

- BRAND, John, "History and Antiquities of the Town
"and County of Newcastle-upon-Tyne," vol. i.
(Appendix). London, 1789. 4to.
- HUTTON, William, "The History of the Roman Wall.
"which crosses the Island of Britain from the
"German Ocean to the Irish Sea." London, 1801.
8vo.
- HODGSON, the Rev. John, "The Picture of Newcastle-
"on-Tyne," 1812.
- HODGSON, the Rev. John, "History of Northumberland."
Part 2, vols. i.-iii. The last volume of this work
contains the mine of information about the Roman
Wall from which every writer on the subject for
the last 60 years has drawn his principal facts,
frequently without acknowledgment; it was pub-
lished separately under the title of "The Roman
Wall and South Tindale, in the Counties of
Northumberland and Cumberland," 1841.
- BELL, R., "The Roman Wall." Newcastle-upon-Tyne
1852. 4to.
- BRUCE, J. Collingwood, "The Roman Wall;" 1st edition.
London, 1851, 2nd edition, 1853, 3rd edition.
1867. 4to.
- BRUCE, J. Collingwood, "Hadrian the Builder of the
Roman Wall:" a reply to "The Roman Wall,"
by R. Bell. London and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
1853. 4to.
- BRUCE, J. C., "The Handbook to the Roman Wall."
2nd edition, Newcastle and London, 1884, 3rd
edition, 1885. 8vo. 4th edition, edited by Robert
Blair, F.S.A., 1895. With a steel portrait of the
author.
- BRUCE, J. C., "Lapidarium Septentrionale," or a De-
scription of the Monuments of Roman Rule in the
north of England, London, 1875. Folio.
- BRUCE, J. C., "The Wallet-Book of the Roman
Wall." London and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1863.
8vo.

- BRUCE, J. C., "The Wall of Hadrian with especial reference to recent discoveries." Two Lectures, Newcastle, 1874. 8vo.
- HÜBNER, Professor, E., "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," tom. vii. chapter xli. ("Vallum Hadriani") ff. Berlin, 1873. Folio.
- MACLAUCHLAN, Henry, "The Roman Wall. And illustrations of the principal vestiges of Roman occupation in the North of England. Consisting of plans of the military works, the stations, camps, ancient ways, and other remains of the earlier periods in Northern Counties." Printed for private distribution, 1857. Large folio.
- MACLAUCHLAN, Henry, "Memoir written during a Survey of the Roman Wall, through the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland in the years 1852-1854." Printed for private circulation, London, 1858.
- BOYLE, J. R., The Roman Wall. A reconsideration of its problems, in *Archæological Review*, Sept., 1889, pp. 81, 154.
- NEILSON, G., *Per Lineam Valli*, Glasgow, 1891.
- FERGUSON, Chancellor, "Hadrian's Great Barrier," *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xiii., pp. 85, 181.
- GREENWELL, the Rev. William, M.A., F.R.S., Presidential Addresses to the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, vol. iii., p. ci. ff.; vol. iv., p. l. ff.
- HAVERFIELD, F., "Five Years' Excavation on the Roman Wall." In *Trans. Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, vol. xv. pt. 2, 1899, and see vol. xiii., p. 453; vol. xiv., pp. 185 and 413; and vol. 15, pt. 1, 1898, p. 172.
- HAVERFIELD, F., M.A., "Excavations at Chesters in September, 1900." *Arch. Ael.*, vol. xxiii., p. 9 ff.
- HAVERFIELD, F., "Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee for 1900." In *Trans. Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, Kendal, 1901, p. 75 ff.

HODGKIN, DR. T., "The Literary History of the Roman Wall." *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xviii., p. 83 ff.

HODGKIN, DR. T., "Excavations on the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland." *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xxiv., p. 125

ROACH SMITH. "The Roman Wall" in "Collectanea Antiqua," vol. ii., p. 171.

ROACH SMITH. "The Roman Castra at Risingham and High Rochester." *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 154. London (no date), 8vo.

CATALOGUE
OF THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
IN THE
MUSEUM AT CHESTERS

CATALOGUE

OF THE

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN THE MUSEUM AT CHESTERS.

I.—SCULPTURES, ALTARS, ETC., FROM CILURNUM (CHESTERS).

N.B.—*The Monuments are described under the numbers in RED which are painted in the top left-hand corners of the plinths; the numbers within brackets at the end of the descriptions are those under which the objects are enumerated in Mr. Hall's Hand List of the Collection.*

1. Rectangular stone slab, ornamented with a geometrical pattern in relief, which either formed part of a pavement or an ornament of a building. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. square. [No. 272.] From Cilurnum.
2. Stele inscribed with two lines of Latin text, mentioning the Second Ala of the Asturians which was stationed at Cilurnum, and ornamented with the figure of a soldier, in relief, who holds in his hand a standard, on the banner of which is inscribed "VIRTUS AUGUSTI." Length 2 ft. 3 in., height 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 79.] From Cilurnum.
3. Recumbent, bearded figure of a god, who is generally supposed to represent the River-god of the North Tyne; his right hand and arm are wanting, and his right shoulder and a portion of the upper part of his body are bare. A fold of his apparel is thrown over his left shoulder. By his side is the bearded

head of a water genius or god. This extremely interesting figure was found in the Bath, in excavating the buildings which lay between the two gates on the eastern side of the Station. Length 2 ft. 11½ in., height 1 ft. 10½ in. [No. 205.] See Bruce, *Lap. Septentr.*, p. 75, No. 148; John Clayton in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, vol. iii. Old Series, p. 143. From Cilurnum.

4. Portion of a stone stele on which are sculptured a figure of Aesculapius in relief, and a snake; the head of the god is wanting. Height 1 ft. 3 in., width 7½ in. [No. 187.] From Cilurnum.
5. Portion of a stone stele with a figure of a military officer sculptured upon it in relief; he faces to the left. In his left hand he holds a standard, and in his right a vessel (?) Height 1 ft. 3 in., width 1 ft. [No. 186.] From Cilurnum.
6. Portion of the ornamentation from the upper part of a large stone altar, which somewhat resembles that found on the altar dedicated to Mars Thingsus [No. 195] by the Tuihanti and Frisians. Height 12 in., width 9½ in. [No. 271.] From Cilurnum.
7. Portion of a stone stele on which a male figure is sculptured in relief. This figure probably represents Eros or some torch-bearing genius. Height 7 in., width 8 in. [No. 214.] From Cilurnum.
8. Rectangular block of stone which was probably built into a wall in the camp, and on which is inscribed a phallic emblem (?). Below it is inscribed XXX. Width 12 in., height 9 in. From Cilurnum.
9. Stone capital from a pillar, elaborately sculptured with acanthi, etc. See Bruce, *Handbook*, p. 115. Height 1 ft. 5 in., greatest diameter 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 248.]

- 10.** Portion of a rectangular stone stele or tablet inscribed with four lines of Latin text containing a dedication to the Emperor Hadrian (died A.D. 138) by the Second Legion, Augusta. The text was enclosed within a border, the outer part of which was ornamented with rosettes, etc. The inscription reads:—

IMP · T[ITO AEL]
IO · HAD [ANTONI]
NO · AVG [PIO PP]
COS · LEG[II AVG]

See Bruce, *Lap. Septen*, p. 68, No. 122; and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 118, No. 584. This stone was found when the upper or northern gateway in the eastern rampart of the Station was being excavated in 1868, and it was probably one of many which were used for repairing purposes. Height 16½ in., width 15 in. [No. 87.] From Cilurnum.

- 11.** Sepulchral stone cippus, with rounded top, sculptured in relief, with the figure of a woman (?); the garment in which the figure is arrayed is fastened at the right shoulder by a circular boss or ornament. Height 3 ft., width 2 ft. 1 in. [No. 201.] From Cilurnum.
- 12.** Stone pine-cone finial, or capital of a column. The fir-cone was an emblem of vigour and strength, and perhaps of renewed life. Height 1 ft. 9 in., width 11½ in. [No. 255.] From Cilurnum.
- 13.** Portions of an inscription containing nine lines or Latin text, which record the restoration of a building by the proprætor Marius Valerianus, at the instance of the Praefectus Equitum Septimius Nilus, in the reign of Elagabalus and Alexander Severus, when Gratus and Seleucus were Consuls, A.D. 221. The inscription, as completed by Hübner, reads:—"Imp[erator] "Caes[ar M.] Aurel(ius) [Antoninus pius felix] "Aug(ustus) [summus sacerdos dei Solis Elagabali ?,

"pontifex maximus, tr]ib(unicia) p(otestate) IV, c(o)n
 "s(ul) III, p(ater) p(atriae), divi [Antonini Magni
 "filius], divi Sever(i) nep(os), [et] M. [Aurelius Alex-
 "ander nobilissimus] Caesar imper(ii) [heres
 "alae II Astur[um] vetustat[e conlapsum
 "restitu]erunt per Marium Valeria[num leg(atum)
 "Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)], instante Septimio
 "Ni[l?]o prae[f(ecto) eq(uitum)]. Dedicatum III
 "kal(endas) Novem(bres) Grato et Sele[uco co(n)s
 "(ulibus)." See Hodgson in *Archaeologia Aeliana*,
 vol. i. p. 128; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 159; *Lap.
 Septen.*, p. 67, No. 121; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 118.
 No. 585. Length 3 ft. 2 in., height 2 ft. 8½ in. [No.
 85.] From Cilurnum.

14. Headless stone figure of Cybele, the mother of the
 gods, standing upon a bull. She is arrayed in a long
 garment which extends to her feet, and is ornamented
 with a species of frilling, and is fastened round her
 waist by a cord, the ends of which terminate in flat,
 triangular, worked pieces. The borders of one
 portion of the garment are decorated with a spiral
 ornament, and the whole apparel of the goddess is
 very graceful. This figure is one of the finest that
 have been found in Roman camps in England and is
 of considerable interest. It was seen by Dr. Lingard
 built into a wall in 1807, and was found within the
 camp at Cilurnum near its south-west corner. Cybele
 was the daughter of the sky and the earth, the mother
 of the gods, the great world mother. As a form of
 Rhea and Demeter she was the source of all fertility,
 and the goddess of the earth and of grain and of fruit
 and of all that springs from it. She here stands ap-
 propriately upon a bull, the emblem of ploughing and
 tillage of the earth. See Hodgson, *Hist. North.*
 Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 181; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 76.
 No. 149; and *Handbook*, p. 100. Height 5 ft. 3 in.
 [No. 224.]

- 14*.** Pedestal sculptured with the hoofs of a bull, two of which are seen trampling upon a serpent or python. It probably was made to form the completing portion of the statue of Cybele standing upon a bull, exhibited herewith (No. 14), though it cannot, judging from the quality of the stone and the direction in which the hoofs tread, originally have formed part of the group. In a sketch made by the Rev. John Hodgson in 1810 and reproduced by him in his "History of Northumberland" (Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 181) this pedestal is made to appear as if it formed the missing portion of No. 14. Length 3 ft. 2 in., height 11 in. [No. 204*.]
- 15.** Slab, with its surface divided into squares; it was used as a draught-board. Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 278.] From Cilurnum.
- 16.** Middle portion of the statue of a man with each hand resting upon an ill-defined object, probably an animal or bird. Height 9 in., width $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 215.] From Cilurnum.
- 17.** Portion of a small stele with fragments of two lines of Latin text, which read:—

.... AVGI

.... CCCXLIII ...

According to Hübner (*Inscriptiones*, p. 119, No. 596), the stele was set up to record the building of 343 paces of the Roman Wall by the Second Legion, Augusta. This fragment was found during the course of certain alterations which were made in the coach-house at Chesters. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 73, No. 139. Height 12 in., width 7 in. [No. 118.] From Cilurnum.

- 18.** Stone altar inscribed with three lines of Latin text, recording its dedication to the goddess RAT See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 1867, p. 409; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 62, No. 112; and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 118,

No. 580. Height $10\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 10.]
From Cilurnum.

19. Stone altar inscribed with four lines of Latin text, recording its dedication to the god VITIRIS by Tertulus ; as read by Hübner (*Inscriptiones*, p. 118, No. 581), the inscription runs : DEO SANCTO VITIR⁽¹⁾ TERTULUS V(OTUM) S(OLVIT) L(IBENS) M(ERITO.) See Hodgson, *Hist. Northumberland*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 182 ; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 62, No. 110. Height $12\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 13.] From Cilurnum.
20. Stone altar inscribed with four lines of Latin text, recording its dedication to Antocidicus, the god of the Tilassotes, by Vibianus ; above the inscription in a niche is the figure of a man, in relief, arrayed in a toga. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 62, No. 111 ; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 118, No. 579 ; the latter writer has repeated the description of this altar, and given the readings of the text by Dr. Bruce and himself on p. 125, No. 656. Height 11 in., width 6 in. [No. 12.] From Cilurnum.
21. Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Similis." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 73, No. 137 ; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 614. Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., depth 7 in. [No. 124.] From Cilurnum.
22. Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Naso." See Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 286 ; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 147 ; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 610. Found between Cilurnum and Procolitia. Length 1 ft. 3 in., height 8 in. [No. 128.]
23. Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 11 in., width 6 in. [No. 73.] From Cilurnum.
24. Stone altar with an obliterated inscription ; on one side is a running boar, in relief, and on the other a snake, also in relief. The boar was the emblem of

- the XXth Legion. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 63, No. 114. Height 10½ in., width 6¾ in. [No. 75.] From Cilurnum.
25. Stone altar sculptured in relief with a frog; see Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 63, No. 115. Height 8½ in., width 6½ in. [No. 76.] From Cilurnum.
26. Centurial Inscription which reads, "Centuria of Hortaesius Maximus." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 73, No. 136; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 608. Length 14 in., height 8 in. [No. 123.] From Cilurnum.
27. Stone altar, uninscribed, with rude ornamentation on the upper part. Height 9 in., width 4½ in. [No. 57.] From Cilurnum.
28. Stone altar, uninscribed, with rude ornamentation on the upper part. Height 12 in., width 6 in. [No. 58.] From Cilurnum.
29. Stone altar, uninscribed, with traces of moulding. Height 11 in., width 6½ in. [No. 74.] From Cilurnum.
30. Stone architrave (?) on which are sculptured figures of two sea-monsters; one has the body of a fish with the head and legs of a bull, and the other has the head and fore-legs of a boar (?) with a tail in the form of a serpent. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 78, No. 151; and *Handbook*, p. 101. Length 3 ft. 9 in. [No. 220.] From Cilurnum.
31. Centurial Inscription: "Centuria of P P" See Hunter, *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xxiii. p. 1129; Camden (Gough) vol. iii., p. 505; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 74, No. 140; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 612. This stone was found at Tower Tave. Length 1 ft. 8 in., breadth 7½ in. [No. 127.] It has been suggested that the inscription should be read CENTURIA PRIMIPILI. From Cilurnum.

- 32.** Centurial Inscription, which reads: "Centuria of Flavius Civilis, of the Ist (?) Cohort." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 72, No. 134; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 604. Length 13 in., width 11 in. [No. 121.] From Cilurnum.
- 33.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Lousus Suavis, of the VIth Cohort"; it was found at Tower Taye, and was preserved for some years by being built into the wall of a weaver's cottage. See Hunter, *Phil. Trans.*, vol. xxiii. p. 1129; Horsley, *Northumberland*, p. 217; Hodgson, *Hist. Northumberland*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 286; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 71, No. 130; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 600. Length 14 in., height 10 in. [No. 126.] From Cilurnum.
- 34.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Aelius Aelianus, of the VIIIth Cohort"; it was found at Tower Taye, but was probably taken there from Chesters. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 72, No. 601; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 601. Length 13 in., width 10 in. [No. 125.] From Cilurnum.
- 35.** Massive corner stone inscribed on one side and one end with a text recording the building of XII paces of the Roman Wall by a company of soldiers, whose title is illegible. Found near Brunton Hall. Length 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 9½ in. [No. 120.] From Cilurnum.
- 36.** Rectangular stone slab inscribed with four lines of Latin text, commemorating the building of an aqueduct by the Second Ala of the Asturians, which was stationed at Cilurnum, under the direction of Ulpius Marcellus, proprætor. The text is enclosed on a panel within a moulded border and reads:—

AQVA. ADDVCTA.
ALAE. N. ASTVR.
SVB. VLP. MARCELLO.
LEG. AVG. PR. PR.

Length 3 ft. 4½ in., breadth 1 ft. 11 in. [No. 80.]
From Cilurnum.

7. Two fragments of a stele inscribed with a text (or texts) of doubtful signification; palimpsest? Length 1 ft. 10 in., height 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 332.] From Cilurnum?
8. Portion of an inscription mentioning Septimius Nilus, who was in command at Cilurnum in the reign of Alexander Severus, A.D., 222-235; it was found in the building near the river at Cilurnum, in 1884. See Bruce, *Handbook*, p. 246. Height 1 ft. 1 in., width 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 83.] From Cilurnum.
19. Fragment of a Latin inscription mentioning Ulpius, who may be identified with Ulpius Marcellus, a *propraetor* of the time of Severus. See Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 286; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 23; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 70, No. 124; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 119, No. 592. Height 11 in., width 8 in. [No. 86.] From Cilurnum.
10. Upper portion of an uninscribed stone altar. Height 5 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 280.] From Cilurnum.
11. Upper portion of stone altar or pillar ornamented with triangular designs and bulls' heads, in relief. Height 5 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 78.] From Cilurnum.
42. Upper portion of a stone altar ornamented with rosettes in relief. Height 4½ in., breadth 6 in. [No. 77.] From Cilurnum.
43. Stone altar inscribed with three lines of Latin text recording its dedication to the "Old Gods," **DIBVS VETERIBVS**. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 61, No. 109; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 118, No. 582. This altar was found by the east gate of the camp

whilst excavations were being carried on there. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 18.] From Cilurnum.

- 44.** Stone altar inscribed with four lines of text which have, up to the present, not been satisfactorily explained, although the letters are easily legible. See C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, 1852, vol. II, plate 48, p. 196; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 63, No. 113; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 118, No. 583. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 28.] From Cilurnum.
- 45.** Large stone altar ornamented on one side with a figure of a jug in relief, and on the other with the figure of a mirror, also in relief. The Latin inscription of . . . (?) lines is much obliterated, but it has been said to contain a dedication to "Jove, Best and Greatest," and to the genius of the camp and to the guardian gods. Height 3 ft. 6 in., breadth 1 ft. 6 in. [From Cilurnum.]
- 46.** Stone altar of unusual shape and design inscribed with four lines of Latin text, which record its dedication to a god by a prefect of the First Cohort. The gable and the rosette ornamentation of the upper part of the altar are much damaged. Height: 2 ft. 5 in.; the shaft measures $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., and the upper part and the base 1 ft. 6 in. in width. [No. 1.] From Cilurnum.
- 47.** Stone altar of unusual shape and design inscribed in Latin with six lines of text, which record its dedication to the goddess Fortuna Conservatrix by VENENTUS, a German. On the face of the shaft is a figure of the goddess Fortune, who holds in her left hand a cornucopia, and in the right a wheel, both of which objects are appendages of the goddess and are usually

¹ Of the inscription Hübner says:—"Lectio satis expedita, interpretatio omnino incerta."

found upon her statues. The text as read by Mr. John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.* xi. p. 117, runs:—

D [E] A E
 FORT[VNAE] CO
 N S E R V A T R -
 I C I. V E N E N V -
 S G E R M [A N V S]
 L[IBENTER] M[ERITO].

This altar is, probably, not older than the reign of Antoninus Pius, and the use of the epithet "Conservatrix" is not common. Height 2 ft. 7 in., breadth at the base 11 in. [No. 2.] From Cilurnum.

8. Massive, rectangular stele or tablet inscribed with portions of a Latin text which commemorates the repair of the bridge at Cilurnum under the direction of Aelius Longinus, praefectus equitum. This stele was found among the remains of the bridge which spanned the North Tyne, near Cilurnum, the greater part of it being exposed to the action of wind and water; the inscribed portion of it was buried in the sand of the bed of the river. See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 147; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 60, No. 123; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 118, No. 586. Height 3 ft. 2 in., width 1 ft. 10½ in. [No. 81.] From Cilurnum.
9. Centurial Inscription, which reads: "Centuria of Caecilius Moni" See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 73, No. 138; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 120, No. 606. Length 1 ft. 6½ in., depth 11 in. [No. 122.] From Cilurnum.
0. Stone slab, with rudely executed hunting scene: a man is attacking a stag with a three-pronged weapon, and close by is a wild boar. See Bruce, *Handbook*, p. 105. Length 10½ in., depth 4 in. [No. 183.] From Cilurnum.
1. Stone slab with a rudely executed scene in which

a soldier is depicted in the act of attacking a defenceless man; the soldier is armed with a three-pronged weapon, which he brandishes in his right hand, and with a shield, which he holds in his left. See Bruce. *Handbook*, p. 104. Height 12 in., width $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 184.] From Cilurnum.

52. Portion of a votive inscription for the safety of the decuria of Aurelius Severus; it was found in the building near the river at Cilurnum in 1884. See Bruce. *Handbook*, p. 246. Length 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 8 in. [No. 82.] From Cilurnum.

53, 54. Two fragments of a stone tablet inscribed with a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus for the safety of the Emperors, by Galerius Verus(?). Several towns bore the name of "Doliche," but that in Commagene was celebrated for the worship of Jupiter. The fragments measure 11 in. by 8 in., and 8 in. by 7 in. [No. 84.] From Cilurnum.

55. Centurial Inscription (?) of two lines: "Stone of " Length 2 ft. 7 in.; breadth 10 in. [No. 167.] From Cilurnum.

56. Rough stone slab which has been scored across with lines and used as a draught-board. Length 2 ft., breadth 1 ft. 3 in. [No. 277.] From Cilurnum.

57. Stone from the Roman Wall, on which is sculptured in relief, a running horse, which may have been a centurial emblem. Length 1 ft. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 9 in. [No. 216.] From Cilurnum.

58. Two large fragments of a stele, containing portions of eight lines of an inscription in Latin, which appear to refer to the carrying out of some public work, but they are too fragmentary and disconnected to reveal the exact meaning of the complete text. The lower fragment was found in 1870 among the ruins of the building which is generally considered to have

been the Forum; the inscription was probably set up in the reign of Antoninus Pius, under the direction of the prefect of the Second Ala of the Asturians. See Bruce, *Lap. Septem.*, p. 464, No. 922, and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 310, No. 1346. Height 2 ft. 2 in., breadth 12 in. [No. 105.] From Cilurnum.

59. Portion of a stone stele, with a fragmentary inscription, supposed to be part of a dedication to the "Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius, the Father of his country, by a Vexillatio of the Sixth Legion, surnamed the Victorious, Pious and Faithful." The text is thus expanded by Dr. Bruce:—

[HA]DR[IANO] A[NTONINO]

[AVG. PI]O P. P. [VEXILLATIO]

[LEG]VI [VICTR. P. F.]

See *Arch. Æl.*, xiii. p. 366. The fragment measures 9 in. by 9 in. [No. 98.] From Cilurnum.

60. Base and part of the shaft of a small stone altar, inscribed with a dedication "to the Old Gods" [DI]BVS VITIRIBVS. See *Arch. Æl.*, xiii. p. 362. This object was found in July, 1889, near the eastern abutment of the Roman Bridge at Chesters. Height 6 in., breadth 4½ in. [No. 17.] From Cilurnum.

II.—SCULPTURED STELAE, ALTARS, ETC., FROM
CARRAWBURGH (PROCOLITIA).

61. Stone altar, inscribed with six lines of Latin text, recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina, by MANLIUS DUHUS, a German. The inscription, as read by Mr. John Clayton in *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 11. runs :—

D E A E N I M
F A E C O V E N
T I N E M A [N L I U S] D
V H V S . G E R M .
P O S [V I T] P R O S E E T S V [I S]
V [O T V M] S [O L V E N S] L [I B E N S] M [E R I T O]

"The spelling of the sculptor of this altar is barbarous.

"The addition of *nympha* to the title of the goddess "is evidence of her aquatic attributes." Height 10 in. [No. 26.] From Procolitia.

62. Massive, rectangular tablet, with moulded border, inscribed with three lines of Latin text, recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina. Length 3 ft. 2 in., breadth 1 ft. 3 in. [No. 102.] From Procolitia.

63. Relief, dedicated either to three nymphs who were regarded as the personifications of the stream and springs which flowed near the temple of the goddess Coventina, at Procolitia, or to the goddess herself and two attendant nymphs. Each deity is reclining in a niche or recess, with a circular roof supported on pillars, and each rests against a vessel, from the mouth of which pours forth an abundant stream of water; one shoulder and a part of the body of each deity is bare, and the hair of each falls down her

back. Two of the nymphs hold in their raised left hands a vessel of water, and the third holds a similar vessel in her right hand. See John Clayton in *Arch.Æl.*, viii. p. 5, and Bruce, *Handbook*, p. 114, where reproductions of the above relief are given. Length 3 ft., height 1 ft. 8 in. [No. 188.] From Procolitia.

4. Portions of a small stone relief, with figures of Aesculapius and the goddess Minerva, who stand in a niche with a semi-circular roof supported on pillars. The goddess wears a helmet and a coat of mail, and has an aegis upon her breast; as the goddess of war she has by her side a spear and shield. The upper parts of the figure of Aesculapius and of the serpent, which is usually seen by his side, are broken away. Aesculapius was the son of Apollo and Coronis, and was the god of medicine and of healing, and the patron of physicians and of all who in any way dealt with medicine. A tame serpent was kept in his temple at Epidaurus, and the god himself was supposed to appear sometimes in the form of a snake. This relief is reproduced by Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 172, and in *Lap. Septen.*, p. 86, No. 171. Height 1 ft. 1 in., breadth 11 in. [No. 188A.] From Procolitia.

85. Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Alexander." This stone is described by Horsley,¹ *Rom. Brit.*, p. 219, No. xxxv.; and by Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 122, No. 627, who adds the remark that "it seems to have perished" (*videtur periisse*). It was found lying at the door of one of the houses at Carrawburgh. Length 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 6½ in. [No. 133.] From Procolitia.

66. Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Avidius"; see Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 85, No. 165, 1 ft. 6 in. by 7 in. [No. 132]. From Procolitia.

¹ "This is an inscription of the centuria sort. . . . It is upon a broken stone lying at the door of one of the houses at Carrawburgh."

67. Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Avidius": see Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 85, No. 176. This stone was brought from the Roman Wall between Procolitia and Borcovicus. 1 ft. by 9 in. [No. 130.]

68. Small stone altar, inscribed in Latin with a dedication to the goddess Coventina by NOMATIUS; on the front of the upper part, in relief, is a head of Coventina. "This altar has also the peculiarity of a square focus, a peculiarity which is not confined to this altar." The three lines of text, as read by Mr. John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 12. run:—

DAE COVEN

VI. NOMATI

VS V-S-L-M.

Height 9½ in., width 7 in. [No. 24.] From Procolitia.

69. Small stone altar, uninscribed. Height 10½ in., width 7 in. [No. 55.] From Procolitia.

70. Stone altar, inscribed in Latin with a dedication to the goddess Coventina by; the upper part is ornamented with a series of small pointed arches, which have been carefully sculptured. On one side, in relief, is a small branch, and on the other, also in relief, is a figure of Fortuna (?) holding a cornucopiae and a wheel (or wreath). The greater part of the seven lines of the inscription is obliterated. Reproductions of the altar are given by Mr. John Clayton. *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 16. Height 12 in., width 6 in. [No. 27.] From Procolitia.

71. Small stone altar, uninscribed and without ornamentation. Height 1 ft. 1 in., width 6 in. [No. 51.] From Procolitia.

72. Small stone altar, uninscribed and without ornamentation.

tation. Height 1 ft. 0½ in., width 6 in. [No. 50.]
From Procolitia.

- 73.** Small stone altar, uninscribed and without ornamentation; the base and capital are unusually thick, and are not in proportion to the shaft. Height 1 ft. 1 in., width 6½ in. [No. 61.] From Procolitia.
- 74.** Stone altar, uninscribed, with moulded base and capital. Height 1 ft. 3 in., width 8 in. [No. 43.] From Procolitia.
- 75.** Stone altar, uninscribed. The capital is ornamented with a design formed by deeply incised lines, and the face of the shaft has on each side, in relief, rude representations of pillars; the sides are ornamented with mouldings. This altar has been discoloured by fire and blackened by smoke. Height 1 ft. 4½ in., width 8½ in. [No. 52.] From Procolitia.
- 76.** Stone altar, uninscribed, with rude ornamentation on the capital, and moulded lines on the base. Height 1 ft. 2½ in., width 7 in. [No. 44.] From Procolitia.
- 77.** Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 1 ft., width 6 in. [No. 62.] From Procolitia.
- 78.** Stone altar, inscribed in Latin with a dedication to the goddess Minerva by VENICUS(?); the capital is ornamented with a gable, and with volutes having rosettes, and the base has three steps. The six lines of text as read by Mr. John Clayton, *Arch. Ael.*, viii. p. 18, run:—

D	I	E	M
I	N	E	R
V	E	V	E
N	I	C	O
P	R	[O]	S[ALUTE]
POS[UIT]	S[OLVENS]	V[OTVM]	

This altar was certainly found in the well of Coventina, but it is difficult to explain its presence there because it was dedicated to Minerva; a probable explanation is that the soldier who dedicated it to the goddess Minerva identified her with the local goddess, and intended to pay additional honour to the comparatively unknown water-deity Coventina. Height $13\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 31.] From Procolitia.

79. Stone altar with marks on the shaft which appear to resemble traces of letters. Height 12 in., width 8 in. [No. 63.] From Procolitia.
80. Stone altar, uninscribed, with massive capital ornamented with a linear design, and an unusually deep base. Height 1 ft. 6 in., width 8 in. [No. 64.] From Procolitia.
81. Stone altar, with marks on the shaft which appear to be traces of an inscription now obliterated. Height 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., width $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 65.] From Procolitia.
82. Upper portion of an uninscribed stone altar. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., width 6 in. [No. 72.] From Procolitia.
83. Centurial Inscription,¹ which reads, "The Thruponian Centuria [built] twenty-four paces" [of the Roman Wall]. The text is as follows:—

O THRVPO
N I A N A
P . XXIII

This stone was built into the east wall of a square chamber attached to the east rampart of the fort at Procolitia, and was taken out by Mr. John Clayton and brought to Chesters. See Hübner, *Inscriptiones*,

¹ "In each of these inscriptions the name of the centurion is preceded 'by the centurial mark, resembling an inverted 'C,' which represents 'a twig of vine, the official badge of a Roman centurion.'"

p. 122, No. 631A; John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, ix. p. 24; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 469, No. 932. Length 1 ft., breadth 8 in. [No. 129.] From Procolitia.

- 84.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Ninth Cohort, Centuria of Paulus Aper." The Latin text runs:—

COH IX O
PAV APRI

This stone was built into the east wall of a square chamber attached to the west rampart of the fort at Procolitia, and was taken out by Mr. John Clayton and brought to Chesters. The cohort to which the Centurion Paulus Aper belonged was, without doubt, a legionary cohort; it probably belonged to the VIth Legion, which was employed in the construction of the Roman Wall. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, ix. p. 23. Length 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 10 in. [No. 166.] From Procolitia.

- 85.** Centurial inscription, which reads, "Centuria of Avidius Rufus." The text runs:—O AVID. RVFI. See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 173; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 85, No. 167; and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 122, No. 629. Length 1 ft. 3½ in., breadth 6½ in. [No. 131.] From Procolitia.

- 86.** Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina by AURELIUS GROTVS, a German. The capital is ornamented with rosettes (?) and with elaborate mouldings, and the inscription on the shaft is enclosed within a rope-work frame. The five lines of Latin text run:—

DIE COVE
NTINAE A
VRELIVS
GROTVS
GERMAN[VS]

"The use of 'I' in place of 'E,' and of 'E' instead of 'Æ' in the word Deae is a barbarism. This

altar was dedicated by a recruit to the Batavian Cohort from Germania. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. viii. p. 11; and Bruce, *Handbook*, p. 115. Height 11 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 25.] From Procolitia.

87. Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina by *BELLICVS*; the base and capital are ornamented with mouldings, etc. The four lines of Latin text run:—

D I I A I I
C O N V E N T I
N A E B E L L I C V S
V · S · L · M · P.¹

“The letters ‘E’ in the word *Deae* on this altar are “each represented by two down strokes or letters “(II), a singularity which sometimes occurs in Roman “inscriptions.” See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 12. Height 1 ft. 3 in., breadth 1 in. [No. 21.] From Procolitia.

88. Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina by an officer who held the rank of “*optio*,” or lieutenant; the base and capital are ornamented with mouldings. On one side, in relief, is an object which resembles a basket, and on the other, also in relief, is a rope. The inscription is nearly obliterated, and the name of the man who dedicated the altar is illegible. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 14. Height 1 ft. 3½ in., breadth 9 in. [No. 66.] From Procolitia.

89. Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina, by *VINCENTIUS*; the capital is ornamented with a design formed by incised lines, and on the front of the base are cut, in outline, two dolphins. The dolphin appears to have been regarded as the fish sacred to the water-goddess

¹ I.e. *Votum solvens libens merito posuit.*

Coventina. On one side of the altar, in relief, is a mirror, and on the other, also in relief, is a knife or hatchet. The five lines of Latin text read:—

D E A E S A N C
C O V O N T I N E
V I N C E N T I V S
P R O S A L V T E S V A
V . L . L . M . D¹

“This is the only example of the use of ‘o’ as the “vowel in the second syllable of Coventina. The use “of ‘e’ instead of ‘æ’ in the dative case of the name “of the goddess, which we find on this altar, frequently “occurs in all these descriptions.” It is interesting to note the epithet “Sanctae” here applied to the goddess; it is found on no other altar from the well of Coventina. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 10. Height 1 ft. 7 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 22.] From Procolitia.

90. Massive, votive sculptured and inscribed stele or tablet, dedicated to the goddess Coventina, by TITUS DOMITIUS COSCONIANUS, a Roman military prefect, in command of the First Cohort of Batavian Auxiliaries. Judging from palaeographical evidence, Prof. Hübner declared the tablet to belong to the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 138-161. On the upper part of the stele, in relief, is a figure of the goddess Coventina, who is represented as floating on the leaf of a gigantic water-lily, and who holds in her right hand a branch of some water plant, and in her left a vessel from which water flows forth. The five lines of Latin text which form the dedication read:—

D E A E
C O V V E N T I N A E
T[ITVS] D[OMITIVS] COSCONIA
NVS . PR[ÆFECTVS] CO[HORTIS]
T . BAT[AVORVM] L[IBENS] M[ERITO]

¹ I.e. Votum libens laetus merito dicavit.

It is interesting to note the double "V" in the name of the goddess. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 9. Height 2 ft. 5 in., breadth 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 103.] From Procolitia.

91. Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the "Genius of the Camp," by soldiers who belonged to the Second Cohort of the Nervii. The seven lines of Latin text have been thus transcribed by Mr. John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vii. p. 282, and by Professors Hübner and Müllenhoff, *Lap. Septem.* p. 466, No. 925:—

Clayton.
G E N I O
HVJVS LO
CI TEXAND
ET SVAVIS
VEX COHOR
II NERVIOR
VM

Hübner and Müllenhoff.
G E N I O
HV[I]VS LO
CI · TEXAND
ET SVN(V)P
VEX · COHOR
II NERVIOR
VM ·

According to Mr. John Clayton's reading the altar¹ was dedicated by Texander and Suavis, two Vexillarii of the Second Cohort of the Nervii, which came to Britain, with the Sixth Legion, early in the reign of Hadrian. According to Hübner and Müllenhoff the altar was dedicated by the Texandri and Sunuci, who belonged to the Second Cohort of the Nervii, and served under a Vexillum. The Texandri and Sunuci are said to have been peoples who were neighbours of the Nervii. This altar was found nearly in the middle of the Station, where it had been used as a

¹ In his paper on this altar Mr. Clayton says:—"It is satisfactory to the writer that Dr. Bruce (whom he regards as the best authority on the subject) concurs in this as the probable reading of these imperfect letters," but we find that in the *Lapidarium* (p. 466) the reading which Dr. Bruce gives is that of Hübner and Müllenhoff, even though he says, "the letters of this portion of the inscription are so indistinct that it cannot be said that either one or the other of the readings is certain, or that either of them is impossible" (!).

building stone in the wall of an earlier Roman structure. Height 1 ft. 8 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 33.] From Procolitia.

- 92.** Stone altar, uninscribed, with the capital ornamented with triangular and circular designs. Height 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 8½ in. [No. 67.] From Procolitia.

- 93.** Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina by ; the greater part of the Latin text of five lines is obliterated. This altar, like one dedicated to the goddess Fortuna (No. 94), was suspended, or carried, by means of a ring and iron staple, which was fastened into the focus by means of lead ; the iron having rusted burst a piece off the top of the altar, which has since been repaired. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 17. Height 1 ft. 2½ in., breadth 7¼ in. [No. 30.] From Procolitia.

- 94.** Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Fortuna by VITALIS; it was suspended, or carried, by means of a ring and iron staple which was fastened into the focus by means of lead. It was found lying amongst a heap of rubbish in one of the rooms of a villa on the west side of the Station. The four lines of Latin text read :—

D A E F O R
V I T A L I S
F E C I T
L I B · M E R

See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 465, No. 924. Height 1 ft. 2 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 32.] From Procolitia.

- 95.** Four large fragments of an inscription, commemorating the erection of a building by the command of a high Roman official, whose name ends in "ccianus," in the consulship of Perpetuus and Cornelianus, in the reign of Maximin and Julius Verus, A.D. 237 ; the work

was carried out under the superintendence of the Prefect BURRIUS, by the First Cohort of the Batavians (cohors prima Batavorum curante Burrio). See Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii., vol. iii. p. 437; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 65; *Handbook*, p. 112; *Lap. Septen.* p. 81, No. 157. Greatest height 3 ft., greatest breadth 1 ft. 9 in. [No. 90.] Found in the north-east corner of the Station at Procolitia in 1833.

96. Portion of a stone tablet which was set up at Procolitia by the First Cohort of the Aquitanians under Cornelius (?) Nepos; it was found in the north-east corner of the Station by Joseph Hutchinson in 1833. See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 171; *Lap. Septen.* p. 83, No. 158; Hodgson, *Gent. Mag.*, vol. i. 1839, p. 186; *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 437; C. R. Smith, *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. iii. p. 177; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 121, No. 620a. Height 1 ft. 11½ in., breadth 1 ft. 7½ in. [No. 89.] From Procolitia.
97. Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 10 in., breadth 5 in. [No. 53.] From Procolitia.
98. Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 9 in., breadth 4½ in. [No. 45.] From Procolitia.
99. Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 8 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 47.] From Procolitia.
100. Stone altar, uninscribed, the capital of which is ornamented with a linear design. Height 9½ in., breadth 6½ in. [No. 42.] From Procolitia.
101. Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 6 in., breadth 3½ in. [No. 48.] From Procolitia.
102. Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 8½ in., breadth 4½ in. [No. 46.] From Procolitia.
103. Stone altar, uninscribed, with a capital ornamented with a linear design, and a moulded base. Height 8 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 56.] From Procolitia.

- 104.** Gray stone altar, uninscribed, ornamented with rosettes. Height $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 5 in. [No. 49.] From Procolitia.
- 105.** Red stone altar, uninscribed, with leaf decoration. Height $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 5 in. [No. 54.] From Procolitia.
- 106.** Fragment of a Memorial Inscription of a Vexillatio; according to Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 122, No. 624, the text contains portions of two inscriptions, one of which was cut over the other.¹ See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 173; and *Lap. Septen.*, p. 83, No. 160. Length 9 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 135.] Found on the western side of the Station. From Procolitia.
- 107.** Fragment of a Memorial Inscription of the Sixth Legion, called "Victrix Pia Fidelis," and of a Vexillatio (or Battalion) of the Twentieth Legion, called "Valeria Victrix." This stone was found on the farm at Carraw, close to the Station on the west side, amongst the ruins of a Roman bath or well. See Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 145; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 83, No. 159; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 122, No. 623. Hübner's reading is:—

[Leg(io) VI vic(trix) pia fi]delis
 vexil]latio
 [leg(ionis) XX Val(eriae) vic(tricis)]

The fragment measures 7 in. by 6 in. [No. 134.]
 From Procolitia.

- 108.** Bearded head from a statue of the Emperor Hadrian (?). This head was found with a number of "copper coins, of superior metal, of the higher Empire, which continued with an admixture of the inferior coins of the lower Empire," at a depth of about three feet below the surface of the ground in

¹ "Mihi visa sunt elementa titulorum duorum, recentioris alterius, "inter-se confusa esse."

the Well of Coventina. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. pp. 3 and 19. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 212.] From Procolitia.

109. Portion of a relief, in which a man bearing a torch is seen standing by the side of an altar ; on one side is the representation of an object which resembles a basket, and on the other a knife or hatchet, which proves that the stone itself was originally an altar. Height 1 ft. 1 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 191.] From Procolitia.
110. Portion of a relief, in which a man bearing a torch is seen standing by an altar. Height 1 ft. 6 in., breadth 11 in. [No. 196.] From Procolitia.
111. Rectangular stone stele, on which is sculptured, in relief, a male figure who stands by the side of an altar, and who holds in his right hand a disk, and in his left a torch, or cornucopia. Height 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 189.] From Procolitia.
112. Portion of a seated figure of a man ; very rough work. Height 1 ft. 5 in., breadth $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 194.] From Procolitia.
113. Right hand top corner of a sepulchral stele, with gable and acroteria, set up in memory of MILENUS, the standard bearer of the First Cohort of the Batavians, which was quartered at Procolitia. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 468, No. 929. Height 1 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 104.] From Procolitia.
114. Large rectangular stone stele, which was set up in honour of a standard bearer, of whom a figure is sculptured upon it in high relief. The soldier wears the ordinary military tunic, which is fastened round his waist by a belt, and his sword with its scabbard is suspended by his left side by means of a belt thrown over his right shoulder. He grasps in his right hand a standard, on the top of which is a bull :

the lower end of the standard is provided with three prongs to enable it to be fixed in the ground. In his left hand he holds a bossed shield. The lower part of the tunic appears to be ornamented with the head of a lion (?). This slab was removed from its original position, and used as a paving slab in the floor of the hypocaust, in a room in a suburban villa at Procolitia, among the ruins of which it was found; it measures 3 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 5 in. A reproduction of the slab will be found in Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 468, No. 930. [No. 203.]

- 115.** Left hand top corner of a sepulchral stele, with gable, which was set up in memory of LONGINUS, the trumpeter of the First Cohort of the Batavians. The text reads:—

D . [M]
 L O N G I [N V S]
 BVC[CINATOR] · C[OHORTIS I BATAVORVM]

See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 467, No. 928. Height 1 ft. 8 in., breadth 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 108.] From Procolitia.

- 116.** Fragment of an inscription belonging, apparently, to the reign of the Emperor Caracalla, A.D. 211-217. According to Hübner (*Inscriptiones*, p. 310, No. 1347) the context of the letters on the fragment ran:—

..... divi traiani parth. et
 divi nervAE · AD nepoti M. Aurelio
 Antonino PIO felici Augusto
 HYP (?)

See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 469, No. 931. The fragment measures 6½ in. by 6 in. [No. 99.] From Procolitia.

- 117.** Right hand top corner of a stele, which was probably set up to commemorate some piece of work executed by a Cohort (the VIth ?) of the Nervii. See Bruce.

Lap. Septen., p. 471, No. 940. [No. 119.] Found at Procolitia in 1874.

- 118.** Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina by Aurelius the commanding officer of the First Cohort of the Cuberni, or Cugerni. The seven lines of Latin text read :—

DEAE CO
VENTINE
COH · I · CVBE
RNORVM
AVR · CAMP
ESTER . . .

.

The Cugerni, or Cuberni, were a people of Belgic Gaul, and the First Cohort was one of the auxiliary Cohorts serving in Britain in the Roman Army. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 13. Height 1 ft. 2½ in., breadth 7¼ in. [No. 23.] From Procolitia.

- 119.** Stone altar, with an inscription recording its dedication to the goddess Coventina by GROTUS; the focus of this altar is more than usually elaborate, and the capital is ornamented with a linear, zigzag design. The five lines of Latin text should, according to Mr. John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, viii. p. 15, be read :—

D E A E C O
V E T N E G R
O T V S V T I B
ES S[OLVIT] L[IBENS] V[OTVM] PRO
S A [L V T E]

The word VTIBES probably describes the tribe or nationality of Grotus. Height 10 in., breadth 5 in. [No. 29.] From Procolitia.

- 120.** Rectangular sepulchral stele, which was set up by NOBILIANUS in memory of his wife AELIA COMINDUS.

who died aged xxxii. years. Above the five lines of Latin text is sculptured, in relief, a representation of the table on which were placed the funeral offerings. The text reads :—

D M
AEL COM[I]NDO
ANNORUM XXXII.
NOB[I]LIANUS DECV
CONIVGI CARISS[I]M P

This stele was removed from its original position, and was used as a paving slab in the floor of the hypocaust, in a room in a suburban villa at Procolitia, among the ruins of which it was found; it was laid face downwards and supported on pillars, and its surface was blackened by the smoke of the hypocaust. See Bruce, *Lap. Septem.*, p. 466, No. 926. The stele measures 3 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. [No. 117.]

- 121.** Three fragments of an inscribed stele, which was set up at Procolitia (?) to commemorate some work or achievement performed by the First Cohort of the Batavians for its commanding officer. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 467, No. 927. Together the fragments measure 1 ft. 9 in. by 1 ft. 1 in. [No. 334.] From Procolitia.
- 122.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of HELLENIUS." See John Clayton, in *Arch. Æl.*, ix. p. 23. Length 1 ft. 4 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 165.] This stone was found between the stations of Cilurnum and Procolitia.
- 123.** Portion of a statue of a female figure, standing upon the capital of a pillar. Height 1 ft. 7 in. [No. 221.] From Procolitia.
- 124.** Six bases of plain, square pillars. Heights 18 in., 17½ in., 18½ in., 22 in., 19 in., and 17 in., respectively; each base is 24 in. in breadth. [Nos. 241-246.] From Procolitia.

III.—SCULPTURES, ALTARS, INSCRIBED STELAE, CENTURIAL STONES, ETC., FROM BORCOVICUS (HOUSESTEADS).

125. Stone slab, from the circular door-head of the entrance of one of the guard chambers of the south gate at Borcovicus, ornamented with moulding, a disk, etc., in relief; on the disk is inscribed a cross, and on the spandril also. The design is reproduced by Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 185, and *Lap. Septen.* p. 119, No. 237; he thought that the crosses might "possibly have a bearing upon the mythology of the period." Length 2 ft., breadth 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 301.] From Borcovicus.

126. Monolithic, semicircular stone arch, from the main entrance or doorway of the Temple which was erected at Borcovicus by German auxiliaries in honour of their god MARS THINGSUS, or MARS THINCUSUS, and the female counterparts of his triad, who bore the names of BEDA and FIMMILENA, and are known from inscriptions found within the ruins of the building to have been styled the "TWO ALAISIAGAE." In the centre, sculptured in relief upon a gabled stele, is a figure of Mars Thingsus, who wears a helmet and tunic, and carries a short sword by his side. In his right hand he grasps a standard, and his left hand rests upon a shield; by the side of the standard is a goose (?). The other portions of the face of the arch are ornamented with figures, also in relief, of the two Alaisiagae, Beda and Fimmilena, each of whom holds a staff (?) and a wreath. This important monument is reproduced by Mr. John Clayton, in *Arch. Æl.* x. p. 148 ff., and measures in height 3 ft. 6 in., in diameter 5 ft. 6 in. [No. 3225.] From Borcovicus.

- 127.** Upper portion of a stone niche or shrine, which probably held the figure of a local deity or warrior, ornamented with a semicircular arch, which is supported on two pilasters, with human heads as acroteria. Height 1 ft. 11 in., breadth 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 264.] From Borcovicus (?).
- 128.** Portion of a monolithic stone arch, ornamented with a crescent moon, the disk of the sun, and an animal in relief. Height 2 ft. 2 in., breadth 1 ft. 8 in. [No. 228.] From Borcovicus.
- 129.** Stone relief, sculptured with a figure of the goddess VICTORY, who is here represented in the traditional manner; she is winged, and holds in her left hand a palm branch. Victory usually stands upon a globe, emblematic of the world, and holds a wreath in her right hand; but owing to the broken condition of the relief these attributes are here wanting. A drawing of the monument will be found in Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 119, No. 236. Height 3 ft. 5 in., breadth 1 ft. 10 in. [No. 200.] From Borcovicus.
- 130.** Portion of a stone stele, sculptured in relief with the figure of a Roman officer (?). Height 2 ft. 5 in. [No. 198.] From Borcovicus.
- 131.** Portion of a stone semicircular, vertical sun-dial, thus described in Gatty, *The Book of Sun-dials*, London, 1900, p. 43:—"It is quadrant in shape, 10 in. "deep and 2 in. thick. There are five distinct rays "cut in the surface, springing from a hole in the "upper edge, which no doubt held a gnomon; these "rays end in a border line that runs along the curved "side of the stone, an inch from the margin. One "side of the fragment is jagged, as if the semicircle "had been broken across the middle; if complete, it "would have been divided into eleven spaces." [No. 273.] From Borcovicus.

- 132.** Stone pine-cone finial, from the upper part of a building. Height 11½ in. [No. 259.] From Borcovicus.
- 133.** Lower portion of a stone figure, wearing a Phrygian cap, and holding a torch, and standing cross-legged. Height 2 ft. 6 in. [No. 199.] It probably formed part of a large tablet whereon the god Mithras was represented in the act of slaying a bull; it was found near the site of the Mithraic temple at Borcovicus in 1898.
- 134.** Stone pine-cone finial, from the upper part of a building. Height 1 ft. 1 in. [No. 258.] From Borcovicus.
- 135.** Stone figure, wearing a Phrygian cap, and holding a torch across his breast, and standing cross-legged. It probably formed part of a large tablet whereon the god Mithras is represented in the act of slaying a bull; it was found near the site of the Mithraic temple at Housesteads in 1898. Height 3 ft. 3 in. [No. 197.]
- 136.** Sepulchral stele, sculptured in relief with the figure of a soldier, who wears on his head a pointed helmet; in his right hand he grasps a spear-headed standard with prongs for fixing it in the ground, and in his left a shield. The relief is ornamented with a moulding. Height 1 ft. 6 in., breadth 7½ in. [No. 192.] From Borcovicus.
- 137.** Stone altar, inscribed in Latin with an inscription of seven lines, recording its dedication to "Jove, Best and Greatest," by an officer of the VIIth (or VIIIth ?) Cohort of the Tungrians (?). The capital is ornamented with a design of semicircles in relief and moulding. Height 1 ft. 6 in., breadth 10 in. [No. 35.] Found at Borcovicus in 1898.
- 138.** Portion of an altar, inscribed in Latin with five incomplete lines of text, of which no satisfactory

explanation has been given; for the various transcripts, see Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 111, No. 207; and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 128, No. 696. Height 1 ft. 4 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 173.] Found at Borcovicus in 1898.

- 39.** Stone altar, inscribed in Latin with five lines of text, which record its dedication to the god Huitris by ASPUNIS, a Tungrian soldier. Height 1 ft. 2 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 36.] Found at Borcovicus in 1898.

- 140.** Stone altar, inscribed in Latin with six lines of text, which record its dedication to the god Apollo by MELONIUS SENILIS, a native of a province of Upper Germany, in the second century of our era. The transcript of the text by Hübner reads:—

DEO APOL
INI MELONIUS
SENILIS · EX PR ·
GER · SVP ·
S · S ·
L · L · L · M.¹

See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 397; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 102, No. 193; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 123, No. 632. Height 1 ft. 4 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 39.] Found on Haltwhistle Fell, near Cawfields Milecastle.

- 141.** Upper portion of a stone altar, inscribed in Latin with three lines of text recording its dedication to "Jove, Best and Greatest," by the Soldiers of the Second Legion. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, iv. Old Series, p. 273; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 205; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 91, No. 178; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 124, No. 637. This fragment was found on the slope of a hill to the south of Housesteads Mile-

¹ I.e., Deo Apollini Melonius Senilis ex pr(ovincia) Ger(mania) sup(eriore) s(usceptum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) l(ubens), m(erito).

castle, and Mr. Clayton conjectured that it had dropped from a cart when being conveyed with other materials taken from the Roman Wall to Bradley, to be used in enlarging the farm house. Height: 1 ft. 3 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 38.]

- 142.** Portion of an inscribed stone altar, dedicated to the woodland god Cocidius by Vabrius, who was probably a Tungrian soldier. The transcript of the text by Hübner reads:—

(M A R T I) (P)
D E O
C O C I D I O
V A B R I V S
. . . . S L M

See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, iv. Old Series, p. 273; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 205; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 94, No. 184; Hübner, p. 124, No. 643. Height 9½ in., breadth 7½ in. [No. 34.] From Borcovicus. •

- 143.** Small stone altar, inscribed with a dedication to the gods by CALVE, a German (Tungrian?). Height 7 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 37.] From Borcovicus.

- 144.** Fragment of an inscribed stele or tablet, with portions of five lines of Latin text. Height 11½ in., breadth 11 in. [No. 152.] From Borcovicus(?).

- 145.** Stele, or MILESTONE, of unusual shape, inscribed with four lines of Latin text, which read, " Marcus Aurelius Probus Pius, happy, unconquered, Augustus." (See Bruce, *Arch. Æl.*, xi. p. 134.)

M . A V R
P R O B V S
P . F . INVIC .
A V G .

The Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus reigned from

A.D. 276 to 282, when he was slain by his soldiers during a mutiny; he is described as a brave, warlike, and virtuous man, and was one of the best of the Roman Emperors. This stone was found on the north side of the Stanegate, on the Crindle Dyke Farm, and is said to be the only monument in Britain which bears the name of the Emperor Probus. Height 2 ft. 3 in., breadth 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 109.] The Stanegate runs from east to west through Crindle Dyke Farm, near Housesteads (Borcovicus).

16. Left hand top corner of a massive stone stele, ornamented with a bold design of leaves, scales, etc., in relief; the space within the border was inscribed with a dedicatory inscription, and of this a few letters remain. Height 2 ft. 2 in., breadth 1 ft. 9 in. [Nos. 110 and 223.] From Borcovicus.

47. Portion of an inscription, which was set up over the door of the mile-castle at Borcovicus, by AULUS PLATORIUS NEPOS, to commemorate the completion of the work connected with the building of the same by the Second Legion, which was under his command. Platorius flourished during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 117-138, and held a number of high offices of state. He was *propraetor* and *legatus* of Britain, and had been *consul*, *augur*, *quaestor* of the province of Macedonia, *curator* of the Cassian Way, the Clodian, the Ciminian, and the new Trajan, *chief secretary of state* of the deified Trajan, *military tribune* of the XXIInd Legion, *praetor*, *tribune of the people*, and one of the *triumviri capitales*. See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 204; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 126, No. 662. Length 2 ft., breadth 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 96.] From Borcovicus.

148. Portion of an inscription, commemorating certain work done on the Roman Wall by the Sixth Legion, which bore the title "*Victrix Pia Fidelis*." The text

is thus expanded by Hübner (*Inscriptiones*, p. 126. No. 665):—L(egio) VI v(ictrix) p(ia) f(idelis) f(lexit). See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 205; and *Lap. Septen.*, p. 110, No. 204. Length 1 ft., breadth 8 in. [No. 136.] From Borcovicus.

149. Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of RUFUS SABINUS." See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 164; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 682. Length 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 141.] From Borcovicus.

150. Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of CIVILIS" See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 113, No. 219; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 677. Length 1 ft. 7 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 143.] From Borcovicus.

151. Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of REGULUS, Cohort . . . II." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 113, No. 217; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 675. Length 11 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 140.] From Borcovicus.

152. Rough-hewn sandstone block, with letters on both sides. Length 1 ft. 6½ in., breadth 7½ in. [No. 116.] From Borcovicus.

153. Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of VERUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 115, No. 227; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 686a. Length 1 ft. 2 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 145.] From Borcovicus.

154. Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of MARIUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 114, No. 223; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 681. Length 1 ft., breadth 5 in. [No. 156.] From Borcovicus.

155. Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of FLORIUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 114, No. 220; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 678. Length 10 in., breadth 6½ in. [No. 150.] From Borcovicus.

- 156.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of LOUSUS SUAVIS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 115, No. 225; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 680. Length 1 ft., breadth 7 in. [No. 160]. From Borcovicus.
- 157.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Cohort VII., Centuria of POMPEIUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 112, No. 214; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 67. Length 10 in., breadth 5 in. [No. 147.]
- 158.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of KALPURNIANUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 114, No. 221; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 679. Length 1 ft. 3 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 142.] From Borcovicus.
- 159.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of the First Cohort, NASIDIUS BALBUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 112, No. 212; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 126, No. 669. Length 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 11 in. [No. 139.] From Borcovicus.
- 160.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "First Cohort, Centuria of OFIDIUS LIBO." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 112, No. 211; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 126, No. 668. Length 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 138.] Found in the front wall of a barn at Greenfort, which is just on the other side of the water, over against Glenwhelt (Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 233, No. lxxv.).
- 161.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Cohort III., Centuria of CLAUDIUS CLEONICUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 112, No. 213; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 670. Length 1 ft. 2½ in., breadth 8 in. [No. 157.] From Borcovicus.
- 162.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "First Cohort, Centuria of JULIUS CANDIDUS." See Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 126, No. 667. Length 1 ft. 6 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 137.] From Borcovicus.

- 163.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of TULLIUS VITALIS" (?). See Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 684. Length 1 ft. 6 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 158.] From Borcovicus.
- 164.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of LUCIUS (?)." Length 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 153.] From Borcovicus.
- 165.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of VERULUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 115, No. 229; and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 687. Length 8 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 144.] From Borcovicus.
- 166.** Centuria Inscription; reading doubtful. Length 8 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 162.] From Borcovicus.
- 167.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "VIIIth Cohort, Centuria of PRISCIANUS (?)." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 113, No. 216; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 674. Length 11½ in., breadth 7 in. [No. 148.] From Borcovicus.
- 168.** Centuria Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of VERUS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 115, No. 228; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 686b. Length 1 ft., breadth 4½ in. [No. 146.] From Borcovicus.
- 169.** Centuria Inscription; reading doubtful. Length 12 in., breadth 5½ in. [No. 154.]
- 170.** Centuria inscription, which reads, "Cohort VIII. Centuria of MARSIVS." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 113, No. 215; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 672. Length 1 ft. 3 in., breadth 1 ft. [No. 161.] From Borcovicus.
- 171.** Centuria stone, inscribed with three lines of text; reading doubtful. Length 1 ft. 7 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 163.] From Borcovicus (?).

- The cost of the "Mentor" program was not covered by the publisher in *Arch. Educ.* 19, 23 (1961).

Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 113, No. 218. Length 10 in. breadth 7 in. [No. 149.] From Borcovicus.

182. Two fragments of a rough-hewn slab, inscribed "Imperator." Length 1 ft. 4 in., breadth 11 in. [No. 91.] From Borcovicus. Found in 1898.

183. Centurial(?) stone, inscribed "Miles." Length 1 ft. 7 in., breadth 8½ in. [No. 177.] From Borcovicus.

184. Portion of an inscribed stone stele. Height 10 in. breadth 9 in. [No. 283.]

185. Portion of a Centurial(?) Inscription; fragments of two lines. Length 9 in., breadth 7½ in. [No. 100.]

186. Portion of a small inscribed altar. See Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 128, No. 697. Height 1 ft. 4 in. breadth 7 in. [No. 113.] Found in clearing the wall on the basaltic heights between Rapshaw Gap and Caw Gap, near Housesteads.

187. Portion of a stele, inscribed with part of the word "Imperator." See Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 128, No. 700 *a*. Height 9½ in., breadth 7½ in. [No. 92.]

188. Portion of the inscribed stele to which the preceding fragment belonged. See Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 128, No. 700 *b*. Height 8½ in., breadth 5½ in. [No. 93.]

189. Portion of an inscribed stele, on which is a part of the word "Imperator." Height 6 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 94.] From Borcovicus.

190. Portion of an inscribed stele, with parts of three lines of the text. Height 1 ft., breadth 6 in. [No. 95.] From Borcovicus.

191. Portion of an inscribed stele, with parts of two lines of the text. Length 8 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 284.] From Borcovicus.

- 192.** Portion of an inscribed stele. Length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 4 in. [No. 285.] From Borcovicus.
- 193.** Portion of an inscribed stele, with parts of three lines of the text. Length 1 ft. 2 in., breadth 1 ft. [No. 286.] From Borcovicus.
- 194.** Massive stone altar, dedicated to the god MARS THINGSUS, and to the two goddesses ALAISIAGAE called BEDA and FIMMILENA, and to the divinity of the Augustus, by the Germans who were TUIHANTI. The Latin text reads:—

D E O
M A R T I
T H I N G S O
E T D V A B V S
A L A E S I A G I S
B E D E E T F I
M M I L E N E
E T . N . A V G . G E R
M . C I V E S T V
I H A N T I
V . S . L . M¹

Arch. Æl., vol. x.

On the left hand side of the shaft, in relief, is a female figure, which is presumably that of a goddess; the base and capital are ornamented with plain mouldings. The inscriptions on this altar and that described in the following paragraph "indicate the presence at Borcovicus of a Cuneus of Frisians; "... they were, no doubt, sent to Borcovicus to "reinforce or strengthen the existing garrison on "some occasion of emergency."—John Clayton in *Arch. Æl.*, x. p. 150. Height 6 ft., breadth at the base 1 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3223.] From Borcovicus.

¹ ET NUMINI AUGUSTI GERMANI CIVES TUIHANTI votum solverunt Libentes Merito." See Hübner, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. x., p. 156.

- 195.** Massive stone altar, dedicated to the god *MARS THINGUSUS*, and to the two goddesses *ALAISIAGAS* called *BEDA* and *FIMMILENA*, and to the divinity of the Augustus, by the German citizens *TUIHANT* of the Cuneus of Frisians, (styled) the *Verlutioner* sian, and by *Severianus Alexandrianus*. The Latin text reads:—

D E O
MARTI . ET . DVABVS
ALAIAGIS . ET . N . AVG
GER . CIVES . TVIHANTI
CVNEI FRISIONVM
VER SER ALEXAND
RIANI . VOTVM
S O L V E R V
L I B E N T I

The capital of the altar is ornamented with a triangular relief containing the upper part of the body of a woman, and rosettes, in relief; on the right hand side of the shaft are an axe and a hatchet, and on the left a vessel and a mirror, all these being in relief. For an account of the discovery of this altar at Housesteads in November, 1883, see John Clayton. *Arch. Æl.*, x. p. 148. Height 4 ft. 2 in., breadth at the base 1 ft. 10½ in. [No. 3224.] From Borcovicus.

- 196.** Stone altar dedicated to the local god *SILVANUS COCIDIVS* by *QUINTUS FLORIUS MATERNUS*, the prefect of the First Cohort of the Tungrians. The Latin text as transcribed by Hübner (*Inscriptiones*, p. 124, No. 642) reads:—

D E O
SILVANO
COCIDIO
QV FLORIVS
MATERNVS
PRAEF COH
I TVNG
V S L M

¹ See Hübner, *Arch. Æl.*, x. p. 156

See John Clayton, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne*, for the years 1855, 1856, 1857, p. 4; and Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 193; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 93, No. 182. Height 4 ft., breadth at the base 1 ft. 3 in. [No. 4.] Found at Housesteads [Borcovicus] in 1854.

- 197.** Massive stone altar, the capital of which is ornamented with four bulls' heads in relief; on the sides of the shaft are a knife, an axe, and a mirror, all in relief. The inscription, which appears to have been continued on the base, is obliterated. Height 3 ft. 6 in., breadth at base 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 287.] Provenance unknown.

- 198.** Roman MILESTONE inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Flavius Valerius Constantinus Pius Augustus, and to the Caesar Flavius Julius Constans, the son of the Augustus. Set up between A.D. 306 and 337. The Latin text reads :—

IMP. CAES
FLAV. VAL
CONSTANTINO
PIO. AVG. ET (P)
CAESARI
FL. IVL.
CONSTANTINI
FIL. AVG.
. . E. LLO

The inscription is cut upon a rectangular stele, which measures 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 1½ in., within a moulded border. The form of this milestone is unusual. Dr. Bruce's reading was :—"Imperatori Caesari Flavio "Valerio Constantino Pio Augusto et Caesari Flavio "Julio Constanti filio Augusti" See Bruce, *Arch. Æl.*, xi. p. 135. Height 3 ft. 1½ in., diameter 11 in. [No. 95.] Found on the north side of the

Stanegate on the Crindle Dykes Farm, near Borcovicus and Vindolana.

- 199.** Stone bas-relief, sculptured with the figure of a warrior. On his head he has a crested helmet, and he wears a close-fitting corslet which reaches to his knees; by his right side hangs a sword. In his right hand he grasps a spear, and his left hand rests upon an oval, bossed shield. A reproduction of this relief will be found in Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 120, No. 238. Height 5 ft., breadth 2 ft. 11 in. [No. 202.] From Borcovicus.
- 200.** Stone from the Roman Wall, with a rudely incised figure of an ox in outline. Length 9 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 218.] From Borcovicus.
- 201.** Stone from the Roman Wall, with a rudely incised design of a deer standing inside or by a snare (?). Length 10½ in., breadth 6 in. [No. 219.] From Borcovicus.
- 202.** Upper portion of a stone altar, ornamented with a figure standing by the side of an altar; below is a part of a dedication to the "Mother-goddesses." Height 12 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 185.] From Borcovicus.
- 203.** Stone stele, sculptured in relief with a human figure. Height 12 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 288.] From Borcovicus.
- 204.** Stone stele, sculptured in relief with the figure of a torch-bearing deity (?). Height 1 ft. 2 in., breadth 10 in. [No. 191.] From Borcovicus.
- 205.** Circular stone relief, sculptured with a figure of a torch-bearing deity. Height 9½ in. [No. 190.] From Borcovicus.
- 206.** Portion of a monolithic arch with curvilinear

design. Height 2 ft., breadth 10 in. [No. 227.]
From Borcovicus.

207. Monolithic arch, from a doorway; unornamented.
Breadth 2 ft., height 1 ft. 11 in. [No. 229.] From
Borcovicus.

208. Monolithic arch, from a doorway, ornamented
with double toros. Breadth 3 ft. 2 in., height 1 ft.
11 in. [No. 230.] From Borcovicus.

209. Portion of a monolithic arch, from a doorway,
ornamented with birds and interlaced mouldings in
relief. Breadth 2 ft. 9 in., height 2 ft. 6 in. [No.
233.] From Borcovicus.

210. Portion of a monolithic arch, with double toros
and decoration of concentric circles. Breadth 2 ft.
5 in., height 10 in. [No. 231.]

211. Portion of a monolithic arch, with toros moulding.
13 in. by 9 in. [No. 232.]

212. Portion of a monolithic arch, ornamented with
concentric circles, etc. Breadth 2 ft. 6 in., height
1 ft. 1 in. [No. 234.]

213. Portion of a monolithic arch. 13 in. by 10 in.
[No. 235.]

214. Base of a cylindrical pillar, with double moulding.
Height 1 ft. 9 in. [No. 238.]

215. Base of a cylindrical pillar, with double moulding.
Height 8½ in. [No. 239.]

216. Base of a cylindrical pillar, with double moulding.
Height 11 in. [No. 240.]

217. Base of a pilaster, inscribed L.I. Height 1 ft. 2 in.
[No. 250.]

218. Stone pine-cone finial, much broken. Height
8½ in. [No. 260.]

- 219.** Stone fragment, inscribed VVI, etc. 1 ft. 2 in. by 12 in. [No. 251.]
- 220.** Portion of a group of seated figures of the DEAE MATRES or "Mother-goddesses." Height 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 265.] All the above are from Borcovicus.
- 221.** Stone fragment, grooved, with holes, etc. 2 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. [No. 270.] From Cilurnum.
- 222.** Stone from the Roman Wall, sculptured with a representation of the sun between two pine trees (?). 8½ in. by 5½ in. From Borcovicus.
- 223.** Fragment of a stone stele, with moulding. Height 1 ft. 3 in., breadth 12 in. [No. 276.]
- 224.** Fragment of a stone stele. Height 5 in. [No. 226.]
- 225.** Fragment of a stone stele, with moulding. Height 9 in. [No. 263.]
- 226.** Architectural ornament; a lion's claw (?). Height 10 in. [No. 222.]
- 227.** Part of an architrave (?) with, perhaps, traces of an inscription. Length 1 ft. 7 in., height 7 in. [No. 225.]
- 228.** Stone pivot from the threshold of a door. 7½ in. by 5 in. [No. 279.]
- 229.** Lower portion of a square fluted pillar, with entablature. Height 1 ft. 9 in. [No. 237.]
- 230.** Capital of a pillar, with modified Ionic volutes. Height 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 247.]
- 231.** Base and lower part of a rough-hewn pilaster. Height 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 249.]
- 232.** Barrel-shaped stone object. Length 2 ft. 4 in. [No. 253.]

- 233.** Red sandstone, pine-cone finial, on a squared base. Height 2 ft. 2 in. From Kirkby Thore. [No. 256.]
- 234.** Lower portion of an altar, inscribed with a text commemorating the Augustan Legion. See Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 126, No. 659. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 8 in. [No. 40.]
- 235.** Portion of a sepulchral stele which was set up to the memory of AURELIUS, who lived XXIV. years. Length 2 ft., breadth 1 ft. 7 in. [No. 112.]
- 236.** Stone wheel-shaped object, with five spokes. Diameter 10 in. [No. 295.]
- 237.** Rough stone mortar, with lip. Diameter $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 296.]
- 238.** Architectural ornament; portion of a pillar(?). Height 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 297.]
- 239.** Stone object, in shape resembling a large egg-boiler. Height 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 298.]

IV.—INSCRIBED ALTARS, MILESTONES, ETC., FROM
VINDOLANA (CHESTERHOLM) AND THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD.

- 240.** Massive stone altar, dedicated to "Jove, Best and Greatest," and to the other immortal gods, and to the Genius of the Praetorium, by QUINTUS PETRONIUS URBICUS, son of Quintus of the Fabian Tribe, Prefect of the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, a native of Brixia, the modern Brescia, in Italy. The Latin text reads :—

I . . . O . . . M
C E T E R I S Q V E
D I I S . I M M O R T
E T . G E N . P R A E T O R
Q . P E T R O N I U S
Q . F . F A B . U R B I C U S
P R A E F . C O H . IIII
G A L L O R U M

(line erased)

E X I T A L I A
D O M O B R I X I A
V O T U M . S O L V I T
P R O S E
A C S V I S¹

The first line, I . O . M . is written upon a raised tablet, enclosed within a moulded border, upon the capital of the altar, and the sides of the capital and the front of the base are ornamented with moulding and a design in relief. On the right-hand side of the shaft are figures of two storks, one large and one small, and on the left one stork; all these, as well as

¹ I.e., "I (ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) ceterisque diis immort(alibus) et:
"Gen(io) praetor(ii) Q(uintus) Petronius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Fab(ia)
"Urbicus, praef(ectus) coh(ortis) IV. Gallorum ex Italia
"domo Brixia votum solvit pro se ac suis."

a small tablet on the upper part of the right-hand side, are in relief. No satisfactory reason has been given for the presence of the storks which would connect them with Quintus Petronius Urbicus. The line of text which has been erased probably contained a title of the Cohort which had been bestowed upon it by some emperor who subsequently fell into disgrace. Hübner (*Inscriptiones*, p. 129, No. 704) thinks that the inscription dates from a period anterior to the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180-192).¹ See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 214; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 125, No. 244; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1833, p. 596; Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 197. Height 4 ft. 8½ in., breadth 1 ft. 11 in. [No. 7.] This altar was discovered by the Rev. A. Hedley in 1831 by the side of a hypocaust, near the east gate within the Station at Vindolana.

- 241.** Stone altar, dedicated to "Jove, Best and Greatest," and to the Genius of the Camp, and to the "guardian gods"; part of the fourth line, and all lines 5-7 of the dedication have been obliterated. Hodgson thought that he could detect traces of letters which would indicate that the altar was dedicated to the gods by the Fourth Cohort of the Gauls, which was under the leadership of Caecilius, and this view is considered probable by Hübner, who transcribes the text (*Inscriptiones*, p. 129, No. 705) thus:—

I	.	O	.	M	
E	T	.	G	E	N
D	I	S	Q	.	C
T	O	D	I	B	.
.
.
.

This inscription is completed by Hübner thus:—

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Genio diisq(ue) cus-

¹ "Consulto erasus cognomen cohortis videtur continuisse ab imperatore quodam damnatae memoriae ductum; tamen litterae videntur esse Commodi antiquiores."—Hübner.

He died aged fifty-five years and eleven days. The Latin text as expanded by Hübner reads:—

CORN[ELIVS] VICTOR · S[INGVLARIS]
 C[ONSVLARIS]
 MIL[ITAVIT] ANN[OS] XXVI CIV[IS]
 PANN[ONIVS] FIL[IVS] SATVRNI
 NI P[PRIMI] P[ILARIS] VIX[IT] AN[NOS]
 LV D[IES] XI
 C O N I V X P R O C V R A V I

See A. Hedley, *Arch. Æl.*, i. 1822, p. 210; Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 202; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 220; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 133, No. 258; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 131, No. 723. Found in 1818 on the outside of the wall of the eastern gateway at Vindolana, where it had been used as a building-stone. Length 2 ft. 3 in., breadth 1 ft. 9 in. [No. 107.] From Vindolana.

- 247.** Rough-hewn sepulchral stele, or gravestone, set up in memory of BRIGOWAGLOS (or, Brigomaglos), who, from the occurrence of the word "IACIT" in the inscription upon it, has been assumed to have been a Christian. Of this inscription Professor Hübner wrote: "[It] is a sepulchral one of the sort I have collected in the *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*. "I do not positively affirm that the man was a "Christian, but the name Brigomaglos is a British "one like Brohomaglus, Senemaglus, Vendumaglus, "etc., used in the inscriptions from the fifth century "downwards. HIC JACIT (for JACET) is the usual "formula in these sepulchral inscriptions. Line 3 "may have contained another name of the deceased "or his origin. This is the first stone of the class "found in the North, except the Scotch Catstane "from Cramond, though several have been found in "Wales. From the form of the letters and from the "termination of the name os instead of vs, I am

“disposed to think it is of a relatively high antiquity. “It differs sensibly from the pagan Roman inscriptions of the same epoch.” Copies of the famous Catstane inscription referred to by Hübner are given by him (*Inscrip. Brit. Christ.*, No. 211), and by Dr. Bruce (*Arch. Æl.*, vol. xiii., p. 369), and it reads thus:—

I N [H] O C T V
M V L O I A C I T
V E T T A F [I L I V S]
V I C T I

“In this tomb lies Vetta, the son of Victus.” The sepulchral stele of Brigowaglos was found at a short distance to the north-east of the Station of Vindolana. Length 1 ft. 9 in., breadth 1 ft. 7 in. [No. 115.] From Vindolana.

- 248.** Stone from the Roman Wall, sculptured in relief with the figure of a boar, which was the emblem of the XXth Legion, “Valeria Victrix.” Length 12 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 217.] From Vindolana.
- 249.** Stone from the Roman Wall, on which is incised a figure of a boar, and inscribed “XXth Legion, Valeria Victrix.” LEG · XX · VV · Length 1 ft. 4 in., breadth 10 in. [No. 292.] From Vindolana.
- 250.** Upper portion of an altar, uninscribed. Height 7 in., breadth 4 in. [No. 60.] From Vindolana.
- 251.** Stone altar, uninscribed. Height 1 ft. 4 in., breadth 7½ in. [No. 59.] From Vindolana.
- 252.** Stone pine-cone finial, with whorl ornament. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 139, No. 272. Height 1 ft. 1 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 257.] From Vindolana.
- 253.** Stone stele, sculptured, in relief, with a figure which has been identified by Warburton and Bruce (*Roman Wall*, 3rd edition, p. 171) with the god Mercury.

Height 10 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 293.] From Vindolana.

- 254.** Triangular stele, on which are sculptured, in relief, a cock, a crescent moon, a cross, a small disk, and a larger disk which is divided into four quarters by means of two straight lines which bisect each other at right angles; it is possible that these are to be regarded as astronomical symbols. See Bruce *Roman Wall*, 3rd edition, p. 174. Each side of the stele is 1 ft. 3 in. in length. [No. 294.]

- 255.** Stone altar, inscribed with a half-obliterated dedication of five lines. Height 11 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 41.] From Vindolana.

- 256.** Roman milestone, inscribed with a dedication: FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS Pius, "happy and unconquered," Augustus, son of the divine Augustus Constantius. Set up about A.D. 340. The Latin text of nine lines, as expanded by Bruce (*Arch. Æl.*, xi. p. 134), reads:—

IMP[ERATORI]
FL(P) [A V I O]
VAL[E R I O]
CONSTANTIN[O]
P[IO] F[ELICI]
I N V [I C T O]
A V G [V S T O]
D I V I
[AVGVSTI FILIO]

This milestone was found on the north side of the Stanegate, on the Crindle Dykes Farm, to the south of Housesteads, and near Vindolana. Height 3 ft. 7 in., diameter 11 in. [No. 299.]

- 257.** Roman milestone, inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Caesar SEVERUS ALEXANDER, A.D. 222-235. This stone was set up by the order of an

Imperial legate¹ and propraetor, and marked the XIVth mile; it was found on the north side of the Stanegate, on the Crindle Dykes Farm, to the south of Housesteads and near Vindolana. The text reads:—

I	M	P			C	A
S		E		V		R
P			I			O
C	O	S	.	P	.	P
			G	.	A	V
M	P		.	X	I	I

and is thus “expanded” by Dr. Bruce, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xi. p. 132:—

Imperatori Caesari
 Severo [Alexandro]
 Pio [felici Augusto pontifici maximo]
 Consuli patri patriae curante
 legato Augusti propraetore
 millia passuum quatuordecim.

Height 4 ft. 3 in., diameter 1 ft. 8 in. [No. 181.]

- 258.** Roman milestone, inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius SEVERUS ALEXANDER, A.D. 222–235. This stone was set up by the order of the Imperial envoy, CLAUDIUS XENOPHON, to mark the XVIIIth mile from Petriana; it was found on the Cawfields Farm, near Vindolana. The Latin inscription of six lines reads:—

I	M	P	.	C	A	E	S	.	M	.	A	V	R	E	L
S	E	V	E	R	.	A	L	E	X	A	N	D	R	O	
P	I	.	F	E	L	.	A	V	G	.	P	M	.	T	R
C	O	S	.	P	I	.	P	.	C	V	R	.	C	.	X
T	E	.	L	E	G	.	A	V	G	.	P	R	.	P	R
A	.	P	E	T	.	M	P	.	X	V	I	I	.		

¹ Perhaps Marius Valerianus; see Bruce, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xi. p. 133.

and was "expanded" by Mr. John Clayton as follows :—

IMPERATORI CAESARI MARCO AVRELIO
S E V E R O A L E X A N D R O
PIO FELICI AVGUSTO PONTIFICI MAXIMO
TRIBVNITAE POTESTATIS
CONSVLI PATRI PATRIAE CVRANTE
CLAUDIO XENEPHON
TE LEGATO AVGVSTI PRO - PRAETORE
A PETRIANIS MILLIA PASSVVM XVIII

"The road upon which this milestone has stood is
"a paved causeway, with a kerbstone on each side,
"measuring 18 ft. in width, and is made throughout
"its course within the entrenched camp formed by
"the murus and the vallum between the Tyne and
"the Solway, and could be used only for military
"purposes. No other milestone has been found upon
"it, but as there was a milecastle at the end of every
"Roman mile, the soldiers would have little occasion
"for milestones on the road, and no travellers were
"allowed to use it. Why it should have been found
"necessary to erect a milestone at the distance
"of 18 Roman miles from Petriana can only be a
"matter of conjecture. It is possible that it may
"have been erected to mark the point at which the
"cavalry patrols at Petrianæ, on the west, should
"meet those from Cilurnum, the next cavalry station
"on the east—each passing three intermediate
"infantry stations." John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. ix.
p. 215. Height 3 ft. 9 in., diameter 1 ft. 4 in. [No.
179.] From Cawfields Farm.

- 259.** Roman milestone, inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Caesar MAXIMINUS Augustus, and the

most noble Caesar. The Latin text of seven lines reads:—

I	M	P
C	A	E
M	A	X
M	I	N
A	V	G
N	O	B
C	A	E

which is thus expanded by Bruce, "IMPERATORI CAESARI MAXIMINO AUGUSTO NOBILISSIMO CAESARI." (*Arch. Æl.*, vol. xi. p. 133.) Height 5 ft. 2 in., diameter at top 1 ft. 2 in., at bottom 1 ft. 8 in. [No. 182.] The number of the Roman mile marked by this stone is illegible. Found on the north side of the Stanegate, on the Crindle Dykes Farm, to the south of Housesteads, and near Chesterholm. It now stands on the right hand side of the main entrance to the Museum at Chesters. "The STANEGATE is a Roman highway "not confined to military purposes, but for general "traffic, measuring 27 ft. in width, commencing at "the Southern Gateway of the station of Cilurnum, "in the valley of the North Tyne, passing at once "over the ridge of high land which separates that "valley from the valley of the South Tyne, and thence "proceeding westwards on the north bank of the "South Tyne, and ending in a junction near the "station of Magna, with the Roman road styled the "MAIDEN WAY, passing from the south into Scot-"land." John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. ix. p. 217.

259A. Portion of a square, fluted pillar, with its base. Height 2 ft. 2 in., breadth 1 ft. [No. 236.] From Vindolana.

260. Roman milestone, inscribed with several lines of text; it seems to have been set up during the reign

of the Emperor Hadrian, whose name appears to be mentioned upon it. It was found by the side of No. 259. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. ix. p. 215. The number of the Roman mile, the end of which it marked, is doubtful. Height 4 ft. 5 in., diameter 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 180.] It now stands on the left hand side of the main entrance to the Museum at Chesters.

V.—MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES FROM ÆSICA (GREAT CHESTERS), MAGNA (CARVORAN), ETC.

- 261.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of VALERIUS MAXIMUS." See Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, p. 229; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, Third Edition, p. 164; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 685, and p. 133, No. 737; Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. ix. p. 213. This stone was found built into the wall of a coal-house on the Cawfields Farm, near Æsica. Length 1 ft. 1 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 159.]
- 262.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of VICTORINUS." See Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. ix. p. 217. Length 1 ft. 1 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 155.] From Cawfields Milecastle, near Æsica.
- 263.** Centurial Inscription, which appears to refer to the DUROTRIGES, or ancient inhabitants of Dorsetshire. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. ix. p. 217. Length 1 ft. 1 in., breadth 10 in. [No. 168.] From Cawfields Milecastle, near Æsica.
- 264.** Rectangular block of stone, sculptured in relief, with a boar's head in a dish; the boar was the emblem of the XXth Legion. The inscription reads, LEG. XX., VV., "Legion XX., Valeria Victrix." See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. iv. Old Series, p. 56; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 229; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 126, No. 666. Height 1 ft. 4½ in., breadth 1 ft. 6 ins. [No. 101.] From Cawfields Milecastle, near Æsica.
- 265.** Portion of a memorial inscription, set up by PLATORIUS NEPOS, propraetor of the Second Legion,

in the reign of Hadrian, A.D. 117-138. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, vol. iv. Old Series, p. 55; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 230; and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 126, No. 663. Height 1 ft. 11 in., breadth 1 ft. [No. 97.] From Cawfields Milecastle, near Æsica.

- 266.** Portion of a mill-stone, with a centurial inscription, which reads, "Centuria of LUCIUS." See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 230; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 127, No. 689. Diameter 1 ft. 1 in. [No. 300.] Found in the Cawfields Milecastle, near Æsica.

- 267.** Altar inscribed with a dedication to the woodland god Cocidius, by DECIMUS CAERELLIUS VICTOR, prefect of the Second Cohort of the Nervii. The Latin text of seven lines, when expanded, reads:—

D				E		0
C	O	C	I	D	I	O
D	E	C	I	M	V	S
C	A	E	R	E	L	I
V	S		V	I	C	T
PRAE[FECTIONIS] COH[ORTIS] II. NER[VIORVM]						
V[OTVM] S[OLVIT] L[IBENS] M[ERITO]						

See Hodgson, *Gentleman's Magazine*, xii. 1839, pp. 186, 187, 409; *Hist. Northumberland*, Part ii. vol. iii. pp. 320, 438; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 218; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 129, No. 701. Height 3 ft. 5 in., breadth 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 3.] Found in June, 1838, at Hardriding, about a mile to the south of Vindolana, in the foundations of a cottage, where it was probably taken from Vindolana.

- 268.** Sepulchral stele, set up in memory of DAGUALDUS, a soldier of the First Cohort of the Pannonians, by his wife PUSINNA. See John Clayton, *Arch. Æl.*, iv. p. 58; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1851, p. 385; Wright, *The Celt*, p. 319; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 231; Hübner,

Inscriptiones, p. 128, No. 692. The text as expanded by Hübner reads:—

D [I S] M [A N I B V S]
 DAGVALDVS . MI[LES COH(ORTIS) I]
 PAN(NONIORVM) (P) VIXIT AN[NOS]
 P V S I N N A
 [CONIV]X TITVLV[M F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT)]

Height 2 ft. 3 in., breadth 1 ft. 10½ ins. [No. 106.]
 From Cawfields Milecastle, near Æsica.

- 269.** Portion of an altar, inscribed with a dedication to the "Old Gods." See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 237; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 142, No. 276. Height 6 in., breadth 5 in. [No. 15.] From Æsica.

- 270.** Stone altar, inscribed with a dedication to the "Old Gods." See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 142, No. 278; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 132, No. 727. Height 12 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 14.] From Æsica. Found in 1867?

- 271.** Lower portion of a stele, sculptured in relief, with a male figure. Height 12 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 195.] Found between Borcovicus and Æsica.

- 272.** Rectangular mural tablet, with panel having a moulded border, inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Caesar Trajan HADRIANUS Augustus, the Father of his Country, who reigned from A.D. 117-138. The Latin text, which is inscribed on the lower portion of the panels, reads, when expanded:—

IMPERATORE] CAES[ARE] TRAI[A]N[O]
 HADRIANO
 AVG[VSTO] P[ATER] . P[ATRIAE]

See Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, vol. i. p. 51; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 236; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 145, No. 284; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 132, No. 730. Breadth 3 ft. 7½ in., height 2 ft. 8 in. [No. 85A.] Found near the eastern gate of the station at Great Chesters [Æsica].

- 273.** Stone altar, dedicated by PAULUS (?) and AVRIDES. The Latin dedication, which is in four lines, reads:—

DEO VITERI
AVLVS ET
AVRIDES
V · S · L · M · I

See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 166. No. 314; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 137. No. 765. Height 1 ft. 1 in. breadth 9 in. [No. 303.] From Magna.

- 274.** Portion of a stone altar, inscribed with a text referring to LICINIUS CLEMENS and CALPURNIUS AGRICOLA. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 166, No. 327; and Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 138, No. 773. From an altar now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, we learn that Licinius Clemens was prefect of the First Cohort of the Hamians, and that he held the rank of *propraetor*, and was chosen as the Imperial Envoy to England. See Bruce, *Lap. Septen.* p. 154, No. 303. Height 1 ft. 2 in., breadth 1 ft. [No. 304.] From Magna.

- 275.** Portion of a stele, which has been used for the centurial inscription, "Centuria of JULIUS." See Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 142; Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 169, No. 339; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 140, No. 784. Length 1 ft., breadth 8½ in. [No. 305.] From Magna.

- 276.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of SENTIUS PRISCUS." See Hodgson, *Hist. North.* Pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 142; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 248; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 171, No. 345. Length 11 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 306.] From Magna.

- 277.** Centurial Inscription, which reads, "Centuria of SORIS." See Hodgson, *Hist. North.*, Pt. ii. vol. iii. No. 141; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 248; *Lap. Septen.*

¹ I.e., *votum solverunt libentes merito*.

- p. 171, No. 346. Length 1 ft., breadth 6 in. [No. 307.] From Magna.
- 278.** Portion of a stele, uninscribed. Length 11 in., breadth $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 308.] From Magna.
- 279.** Architectural fragment, ornamented with diagonal flutings. Length 1 ft., breadth 5 in. [No. 309.] From Magna.
- 280.** Upper portion of an altar, uninscribed. Height 10 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 310.] From Magna.
- 281.** Portion of an inscribed stele, with parts of three lines of text. Height $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 6 in. [No. 311.] From Magna.
- 282.** Uninscribed altar. Height 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 8 in. [No. 312.] From Magna.
- 283.** Portion of a pillar. Height 5 in., diameter 11 in. [No. 313.] From Magna.
- 284.** Portion of an inscribed stele, with incised zig-zag border. Length 10 in., breadth 6 in. [No. 314.] From Magna.
- 285.** Portion of an inscribed stele, with parts of two lines of text. Height 11 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 315.] From Magna.
- 286.** Portion of an inscribed stele, with parts of two lines of text. Height 8 in., breadth 10 in. [No. 316.] From Magna.
- 287.** Upper portion of an altar, the capital of which is ornamented with the figure of a deity in relief. Height 7 in., breadth 7 in. [No. 317.] From Magna.
- 288.** Uninscribed altar. Height 2 ft. 10 in., breadth $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 302.] From Magna.
- 289.** Stone altar, inscribed in Latin with a dedication to "Jove, Best, and Greatest of Heliopolis"; the last

three lines of the text have not yet been satisfactorily explained. See C. R. Smith, *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 192, and plate 48, No. 6; Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 247; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 151, No. 296. Height 1 ft. 6 in., breadth 8 in. [No. 318.] From Magna.

- 290.** Portion of a stone column. Height 1 ft. 2 in., breadth 9 in. [No. 319.] From Magna.
- 291.** Lower portion of a statue of a Roman official: by his side stood a dog, of which two paws still remain. Height 1 ft. 8 in., breadth 2 ft. 2 in. [No. 320.] From Magna.
- 292.** Portion of a recumbent figure of a deity (?). Height 1 ft. 5 in., breadth 2 ft. 9 in. [No. 321.] From Magna.
- 293.** Head of a stone statue. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 206.]
- 294.** Head of a stone statue; late period. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 207.]
- 295.** Head of a stone statue. Height $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 208.]
- 296.** Head of a stone statue. Height 7 in. [No. 209.]
- 297.** Head of a stone statue. Height 6 in. [No. 210.]
- 298.** Head of a stone statue. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 211.]
- 299.** Head of a stone statue. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 213.] From Cilurnum.
- 300.** Small stone altar, uninscribed. Height 5 in. [No. 322.] From Cilurnum.
- 301.** Stone altar, dedicated to the divinities of Augustus and to the Genius of the faithful First Cohort of the Vardulli, which consisted of Roman citizens, who formed a body of cavalry one thousand strong, under the auspices of ANTISTIVS ADVENTUS, the Imperial

Envoy and propraetor, by FLAVIUS TITIANUS, the tribune. The Latin text reads:—

N V M . A V G . E T
 G E N . C O H . T . F
 V A R D V L L O R U M
 C . R . E Q X S V B A N
 T I S T I O A D V E N
 T O . L E G . A V G . P R . P R
 F . T I T I A N V S . T R I B¹
 D C D

See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 350; *Lap. Septen.*, p. 360. No. 685; Hübner, *Inscriptiones*, p. 94, No. 440; Hutchinson, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 367; Surtees, *Durham*, vol. ii. p. 306; Hodgson's *Poems*, p. 97. This altar, according to a letter from Dr. Hunter to Roger Gale, written May 17th, 1735, was found at Lanchester, within the ancient fortification, having the initial letters of the last two lines, and the base, broken off. From Lanchester it was taken to Greencroft, and in 1865 it was acquired by Mr. John Clayton, who removed it to Chesters. Height 2 ft. 3 in., breadth 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 8.] From Lanchester [Bremenium?]

- 302.** Rectangular basalt mural tablet inscribed with a dedication to the Emperor Titus Aelius HADRIANUS Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his country, by the third Vexillatio of the XXth Legion, "Valeria Victrix," and its propraetor. At each corner is a rosette, and on the right and left hand sides of the text is the figure of a winged deity, and below the inscription is the figure of a boar running into a wood; all these

¹ Expanded by Dr. Bruce thus:—"Numinibus Augusti et Genio cohortis primae fidae Vardullorum Civium Romanorum equitatae Milliariae sub Antistio Advento legato Augusti pro praetore Flavius Titianus tribunus de suo (*sic*) dat."

are in relief. The boar was the emblem of the XXth Legion. The Latin text reads :—

IMP	.	C	.	T	.
AEL	.	HADR			
IANO		AN			
TONINO		AVG.			
PIO		P.P.		VEX	
LEG.		XX.		VV.	
				FEC	
[Here is a tree]		[Here is a boar]			
P · P		III			

Height 2 ft. 3 in., breadth 2 ft. 10 in. [No. 323.]

303. Iron anvil. Height $5\frac{3}{4}$ in., breadth 10 in. [No. 3594.] From Borcovicus.

304. Portion of a statue of a goddess standing on a pillar. Height 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 333.] From Borcovicus.

Table-Case A.—Nos. 1-5.**VI.—MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES FROM CILURNUM
(CHESTERS).**

The upper portion and the sloping sides of this case contain specimens of the Samian ware, and a collection of miscellaneous ornaments, implements, tools, etc., in bronze, glass, etc., which have been found at Cilurnum in the course of a series of excavations which were carried out by Mr. John Clayton between the years 1840 and 1890.

1. A series of fragments of a Samian ware bowl, rejoined, with additions. On the outside, in relief, are a number of scenes enclosed within borders ornamented with vine leaves and floral designs, figures of birds, hares, etc. Diameter $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., height 4 in. [No. 2843.] Found at the N.W. Gateway, 1889.
2. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with designs of circles, semi-circles, figures of dogs, etc., in relief. Diameter $9\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1831.]
3. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with a series of circles, wherein are figures of gods in relief. The smaller god is provided with wings, and holds a bottle in each hand; the larger god holds a branch of a tree in his right hand, and is attended by a woman. Diameter $8\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1832.] Found near N. Gateway, 1889.
4. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with figures of gods and mythical beings, enclosed within beaded borders. Diameter $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3444.]
5. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with floral designs, figures of birds, etc., in relief. Diameter $9\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1830.]

6. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with bead-work patterns, figures of dolphins, etc. Diameter $7\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3451.]
7. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with circles, wherein are figures of a god (Bacchus), vine leaves, etc., in relief. Diameter $7\frac{3}{8}$ in., height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2841.]
8. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with figures of deities, dogs, etc., in relief. Diameter $8\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3450.]
9. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with an ivy and vine leaf design, and figures of birds, etc., in relief. Diameter $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2842.]
10. Samian ware bowl (broken), ornamented with a vine leaf design in relief. Diameter $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2840.]
11. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with a hunting scene in relief. Diameter 7 in., height $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 3449.]
12. Samian ware bowl, with spout in the shape of a lion's head. Diameter $7\frac{5}{8}$ in., height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. North Gateway. [No. 2845.]
13. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with hunting scenes, etc., in relief. Diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 3445.]
14. Samian ware bowl, with flat lip, ornamented with an ivy leaf design in relief. Diameter $10\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3453.]
15. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with a floral design, crocodile, etc., in relief. Diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3448.]
16. Samian ware saucer, with ornamentation similar to that of No. 14. Diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ in.
17. Flat Samian ware dish. Diameter $10\frac{5}{8}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1829.]

- 18.** Flat Samian ware dish, inscribed **OF MERC**,¹ i.e., "from the workshop of Mercator." Diameter $10\frac{1}{8}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- 19.** Flat Samian ware disk, with a circular linear design in the centre. Diameter $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1827.]
- 20, 21.** Two fragments of drab ware, with rudely embossed human face. $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 3 in., $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. by 3 in. [Nos. 311, 312.]
- 22.** Fragment of red ware, with portion of a human face. $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 313.]
- 23-47.** Twenty-five fragments of vases, made of drab ware, ornamented with white slip designs, circles (33), letters (34), etc., varying in size from 4 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 314 to 338.]
- 48.** Fragment of drab ware, painted with red slip. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in. [No. 339.]
- 49.** Fragment of red ware, painted with white slip. 1 in. by 1 in. [No. 340.]
- 50.** Fragment of white ware, ornamented with circles in red. $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 341.]
- 51.** Fragment of Samian ware, with a figure of a man in relief. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 344.]
- 52.** Fragment of drab pottery, with linear design. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 345.]
- 53.** Fragment of an earthenware statue, painted in white slip; fine work. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 346.]
- 54, 55.** Fragments of Samian ware, with incised design (54) and figure in relief (55). $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 342, 343.]

¹ A list of the potters' names found upon the Samian ware vessels and fragments preserved at Cilurnum has been compiled by Mr. R. Blair, and will be found in *Arch. Æl.*, vol. xiii. p. 365 ff.

- 56, 57.** Heads from earthenware statues of women. 4 in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.; 3 in. by 2 in. [Nos. 347, 348.]
- 58.** Head from a terra-cotta statue of a man; fine work. 3 in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 349.]
- 59, 60.** Upper portions of two female terra-cotta figures: in each case the lady is holding a tress of her hair in her left hand. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in. [Nos. 350, 351.]
- 61.** Lead stele, with figure of man in relief. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 354.]
- 62.** Red terra-cotta lamp. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 352.]
- 63.** Circular piece of lead, with a clasp for suspension. Diameter 3 in. [No. 357.]
- 64.** Circular lead object, perforated. Diameter 2 in. [No. 358.]
- 65.** Yellow terra-cotta lamp. Length 3 in. [No. 353.]
- 66.** Circular lead object, perforated in two holes, with serrated edge. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 355.]
- 67.** Circular lead object, inscribed IANNIEI (?). Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 356.]
- 68.** Circular lead object, perforated in six holes. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 359.]
- 69.** Circular lead object. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 360.]
- 70-80.** Eleven lead bosses, weights, etc. Diameters $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 1 in. [Nos. 361-370, and 384.]
- 81, 82.** Two cylindrical leaden objects. Lengths 3 in. and 2 in. [Nos. 371, 372.]
- 83.** Leaden object, forked, with ring for suspension. Length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 373.]
- 84-89.** Six leaden net-sinkers; No. 84 has a bronze hook. Diameters from 2 in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 374-379.]

- 90-99.** Ten leaden net-sinkers, eight of which are perforated. Diameters from $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 380-383, 385-390.]
- 100.** Bone boss, perforated. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 391.]
- 101.** Flat bone, circular object, perforated. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 392.]
- 102-116.** Fifteen stone and pottery whorls, three of which are ornamented with lines, etc. Diameters from $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 391-407.]
- 117.** Leaden reel. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., diameter $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. [No. 408.]
- 118.** Whetstone. Length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 1 in. [No. 410.]
- 119.** Whetstone. Length 5 in., breadth $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 411.]
- 120.** Leaden vase-shaped object, supported on three legs (one leg broken). Height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 409.]
- 121-124.** Four whetstones. Lengths 5 in., 2 in., 3 in., and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 412-415.]
- 125.** Hard stone, rectangular slab, on which to grind colours. Length $2\frac{7}{8}$ in., breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 416.]
- 126.** Portion of a basalt slab, on which to grind colours. Length 3 in. [No. 417.]
- 127-136.** Ten sling-stones, some oval, some round. Greatest diameter 4 in., least diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 418-427.]
- 137-140.** Four stone marbles. Diameters from 1 in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 428-431.]
- 141.** Leaden object (weight?), with a copper ring and part of a chain link attached. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 432.]
- 142.** Circular stone weight. Diameter $\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 433.]
- 143.** Dome-shaped terra-cotta pedestal, with remains of the two feet of the human figure which stood upon it. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 438.] Found in May, 1892.

- 144.** Portion of the head-dress of a terra-cotta figure of a woman. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 439.]
- 145.** Head from the skeleton of a bird. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 440.]
- 146.** Bone ring. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 473.]
- 147.** Bone, perforated. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 472.]
- 148, 149.** Bone rings. Diameters $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 474, 475.]
- 150.** Fragment of a bone ring. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 476.]
- 151-170.** Twenty-one boars' tusks and fragments which vary in length from $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Nos. 441-461.]
- 171.** Jaw-bone of a boar, with tusk attached. Length 8 in. [No. 462.]
- 172.** Lower jaw of a man, with twelve teeth. Breadth $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 463.]
- 173.** Portion of a human skull. Length $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 464.]
- 174-177.** Four leg-bones of cocks, with spurs. Lengths $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 465-468.]
- 178.** Bone cylindrical object, with a perforation in each side, ornamented with lines. Length 2 in. [No. 469.]
- 179.** Bone cylindrical object, with oval perforations. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 470.]
- 180.** Bone cylindrical object, with oval perforations. Length 3 in. [No. 471.]
- 181-198.** Nineteen bone circular disks, or whorls (counters or ornaments?), some ornamented with series of circles, others with circular hollows on their upper sides, and others perforated. Diameters from $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Nos. 477-494.]

- 199.** Bone object, reel or stud. Height $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [No. 495.]
- 200-217.** Eighteen bone hair-pins, with carved heads, varying in length from 5 in. to 2 in.
- 218-245.** Twenty-eight bone hair-pins, with circular heads, varying in length from $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. to $2\frac{1}{8}$ in.
- 246-313.** Sixty-eight plain bone hair-pins and fragments, varying in length from $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- 314-334.*** Twenty-one bone needles, varying in length from 4 in. to $1\frac{1}{8}$ in.
- 335.** Bone comb, made in the form of a hand and wrist, ornamented with X. Length 6 in. [No. 631.]
- 336.** Bone comb, made in the form of a hand and wrist, ornamented with annules and linear designs. Length $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 630.]
- 337.** Bone small-toothed comb. Length 2 in. [No. 629.]
- 338.** Bone objects, ornamented with double annules, with remains of three metal studs. Length 4 in. [No. 632.]
- 339, 340.** Two wooden objects, rounded and notched at one end. Lengths 5 in. and $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. [Nos. 633, 634.]
- 341, 342.** Two wooden keys (?). Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. and 6 in. [Nos. 635, 636.]
- 343.** Two fragments of wooden beading, from boxes (?). Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 637, 638.]
- 344.** Bone object, with three perforations and a rounded end. Length 3 in. [No. 639.]
- 345.** Small bone spindle, with whorls. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 640.]
- 347-359.** A series of bone knife-handles, some smoothed and ready for use, varying in lengths from 6 in. to 3 in. [Nos. 641-654.]

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- 360, 361.** Two bone knife-handles, with portions of the iron blades. Lengths 4 in. and 3 in. [Nos. 656, 657.]
- 362-365.** Jet whorls, ornamented with concentric circles. Diameters from $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch. [Nos. 683-686.]
- 366.** Cylindrical bone object. Height $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 657.]
- 367.** Handle of a green glass bottle. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 660.]
- 368-371.** Fragments of leather (shoe soles?) perforated. Lengths 5 in., $3\frac{3}{4}$ in., $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 661-663.]
- 372.** Shell of a snail. Length 1 in. [No. 664.]
- 373-376.** Fragments of jet objects. Length 2 in. to 1 in. [Nos. 687-690.]
- 377-380.** Portions of jet hair-pins. Lengths from $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 691-694.]
- 381.** Half of a jet spindle whorl. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 695.]
- 382-398.** A series of seventeen pieces of jet, consisting of finger rings (Nos. 382, 383, 385), a group of twelve fluted beads (No. 387), a spindle whorl (No. 390), and miscellaneous fragments of rings. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., greatest diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.
- 399, 400.** Two jet rings. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 680, 681.]
- 401.** Large snail shell. Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 665.]
- 402.** Jet pebble. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 695.]
- 403-424.** Twenty-two fragments of coarse, green glass, consisting of necks, handles, and sides of bottles. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 701-722.]
- 425-486.** A long series of fragments of coarse, green glass, consisting of portions of necks, sides, handles, etc., of large bottles, and fragments of blue glass tear-bottles (Nos. 430, 431), etc. One fragment is ornamented with a flower (No. 447), another with

TABLE-CASES A AND B.—Nos. 360-565. 371

concentric circles (No. 462), and another with a portion of a pattern in relief (No. 470). [Nos. 723-783.]

37-492. Six fragments of fine, white glass bowls, ornamented with an embossed pattern; they vary in size from 3 in. by 2 in., to 2 in. by $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 784-789.]

93. Fragment of a fine glass cup or bowl, with a floral design. Length $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., breadth $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 790.]

94-501. Eight portions of white glass bottles. Diameters from $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 791-798.]

02-543. A series of fragments of glass vessels, of various colours, white, blue, green, cobalt, etc., varying in length from $2\frac{3}{4}$ inch. to 1 in. [Nos. 799-839.]

44. Fragment of fine glass, with a dotted design of a human face. Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 841.]

45. Fragment of fine glass, with a dotted design of a horse's head. Length $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 842.]

46. Fragment of a glass bowl, with a floral design painted in yellow. Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 843.]

547-561. Fifteen miscellaneous fragments of glass vessels. [Nos. 844-858.]

Table-Case B.

562. Samian ware bowl, stamped with the maker's name, **MERCATOR**. Diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ in., height 3 in. [No. 1835.]

563. Samian ware bowl, stamped with the maker's name, **MARITIM** (Maritimus?). Diameter $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 1834.] Found in September, 1892.

564. Samian ware bowl. Diameter $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 1839.]

565. Flat Samian ware saucer. Diameter $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., height $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1825.] Found at N. Gateway, 1889.

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- 566.** Samian ware vase. Diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., height 3 in.
[No. 2854.]
- 567.** Samian ware moulded cup. Diameter $3\frac{3}{8}$ in., height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1836.] N. Gateway, 1889.
- 568.** Samian ware moulded cup, stamped MALLVRO-F. Diameter $4\frac{7}{8}$ in., height 2 in. [No. 2856.]
- 569.** Samian ware moulded cup. Diameter $4\frac{7}{8}$ in., height $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1837.]
- 570.** Samian ware saucer. Diameter 5 in., height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 1846.]
- 571.** Samian ware cup, stamped QUIETVS-F, i.e. "Quietus made [me]." Diameter $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., height 2 in.
[No. 1841.]
- 572.** Samian ware cup, stamped SV? VCIRO. Diameter $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., height 2 in. [No. 1840.]
- 573.** Samian ware cup. Diameter $5\frac{7}{8}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 1824.]
- 574.** Samian ware saucer. Diameter 7 in., height 2 in.
[No. 1826.]
- 575.** Samian ware saucer, stamped CRASSVS-F, i.e. "Crassus made [me]." On the outside is inscribed PRORA. Diameter 7 in., height $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1847.]
- 576.** Samian ware saucer, stamped . . . HAL
Diameter 7 in., height $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1848.]
- 577.** Samian ware saucer, stamped ALBILLIM. Diameter 7 in., height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2855.]
- 578.** Samian ware saucer. Diameter 7 in., height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 3452.]
- 579.** Samian ware cup. Diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 3446.]
- 580.** Samian ware cup. Diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 1842.]

1. Two fragments of Samian ware, joined together by ancient lead rivets. Length $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1849.]
2. Lower portion of a rough, red terra-cotta vase. Height $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1853.]
3. Red terra-cotta vase which narrows from the base to the mouth, with rounded edge. Height $4\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 1852.]
34. Red terra-cotta jar, of similar shape. Height 5 in. [No. 3588.]
35. Drab terra-cotta jar, of similar shape. Height 4 in. [No. 3589.]
36. Red terra-cotta jar, of similar shape. Height $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2829.]
37. Red terra-cotta jar stopper, solid. Height $2\frac{1}{8}$ in., diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2908.]
38. Drab terra-cotta vase. Height $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 2830.]
389. Samian ware vase, with incised design. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2858.]
390. Samian ware vase, with incised design. Height 3 in. [No. 2857.]
391. Flat Samian ware saucer, with incised design. Diameter $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1828.]
392. Samian ware saucer, stamped REGINVS · F ·. Diameter $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1845.]
393. Samian ware saucer, stamped CAMVA, and incised on the outside MOXI. Diameter $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., height $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1844.]
394. Drab terra-cotta vase. Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., diameter $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2824.]
395. Drab terra-cotta vase. Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ in., diameter $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 3584.]
396. Drab terra-cotta vase. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2826.]

37. Glass fragments 70
38. Red wax seal, deeply
etched with line. Height
[3-4 mm.]
39. Large black wax seal
attached to base of the
bottle. H. 10 mm. Diameter 10
40. Fragment of wax, 10
mm. H. 10 mm. Diameter 10
41. Portion of a black
[?] [?]
42. Red wax seal. H. 10
mm. Diameter 10
43. Red wax seal. H. 10
mm. Diameter 10
44. Black wax seal. H. 10
mm. Diameter 10
- In the shape of
cylinder, impure
in the center.
- 44-45. Same
[?] [?]
46. Fragment of
[?] [?]
- 47-48. Two
[?] [?]
49. Fragment of
[?] [?]
50. Neck of
white glass
51. Glass in
pencil in
Diameter

Hexagonal green glass beads. Length $\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 517]

Bronze circular ornaments with concentric lines. Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 518]

Bronze circular ornaments in the form of a ring with raised design. Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 519]

Jetted bronze. Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 520]

Circular bronze object head of a pin? Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 521]

Portions of fused glass beads. Size green. No. 522 to 524.

Under seal bearing on the reverse the heads of lions. Severn and his sons. Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. No. 525. See E. 526 and 527. Vol. III. 2.

Under seal inscribed on the reverse — G —
A. A. A.
Prof. Hilber read "The Augusta": on the reverse is inscribed —

C.

PL 15

Inside of this seal is provided by Mr. F. Hill. A. A. A. Vol. III. 2. See Severn and his sons. Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 526]

Bronze work bronze plaque with the word "TEIR". Length $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 527]

On of a bronze work bronze plaque with the word "TEIR". Length $\frac{1}{4}$ in. Width $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 528]

Twenty-one bronze work bronze plaques. Length from $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 529-549]

A lamp, with bronze work bronze plaques. Length 10. 0. 0. 0.

- 651.** Bronze double cup (?) Height $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 907.]
- 652.** Half of a similar object. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 908.]
- 653.** Bronze object, with spiral ends bent outwards. Length $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
- 654.** Bronze handle from a jug. Length $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 909.]
- 655.** Bronze stand, enamelled, with circular ornament. Height $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 910.]
- 656, 657.** Bronze fragments of a border and clasp for a box, with enamelled floral design. Lengths $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 911, 912.]
- 658.** Hollow bronze fragment, inlaid with red and black enamel. Length $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 913.]
- 659.** Jet head of an iron pin or bolt. Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 914.]
- 660.** Bronze button, or stud, broken. Diameter $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 915.]
- 661-684.** A series of bronze rings, which probably formed parts of staples. Greatest diameter $1\frac{7}{8}$ in., least diameter 1 in. [Nos. 916-939.]
- 685, 686.** Two bronze rings, with portions of the iron attachments. Diameters 1 in., and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 940-1001.]
- 687-784.** Ninety-eight small bronze rings, some of which were worn on the fingers, and fragments. Greatest diameter $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., least diameter $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Nos. 941-1000, 1002-1039.]
- 785.** Bronze oval ring, with forked piece for attachment. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 1041.]
- Bronze handle of a mirror. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1089.]
- 787.** Bronze end of a case for a mirror. Length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1098.]

- 105.** Bronze keys and portions of keys. Lengths from 3 in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1043-1060.]
- 810.** Five spoons and portions of spoons. Lengths from $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1061-1065.]
- Bronze hoof of an animal. Height $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1586.]
- 813.** Bronze pins, with spatular ends. Lengths 4 in. and $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1067, 1068.]
- 1.** Portion of a bronze spatular pin. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1069.]
- 5.** Bronze fragment; use unknown. Length $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1070.]
- 6-821.** Six bronze pins, three perforated. Lengths from $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 3 in. [Nos. 1071-1076.]
- 22.** Bronze broad-bladed, hooked instrument. Length 3 in. [No. 1077.]
- 23-826.** Bronze nail and three fragments of bronze. Lengths $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., and $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1079-1081.]
- 327-831.** Five bronze axe-shaped chisels. Lengths 4 in., $4\frac{1}{8}$ in., $4\frac{3}{4}$ in., $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., and $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1082-1086.]
- 832.** Large bronze handle, with projecting forked piece and metal attachment. Diameter $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1042.]
- 833.** Bronze borer(?). Length 2 in. [No. 1088.]
- 834.** Bronze borer(?), with hexagonal head. Length $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1087.]
- 835-841.** Bronze sword-sheath bases, rounded, hollow, with a projecting piece, sometimes ornamented with spiral designs. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1091-1097.]
- 842.** Bronze boss, ornamented with concentric circles. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1098A.]

- 843.** Portion of a bronze sheath base (?). Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1099.]
- 844.** Bronze boss of a shield or harness ornament. Diameter 2 in. [No. 1099A.]
- 845-847.** Bronze bosses or heads of studs. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1100-1102.]
- 848-851.** Bronze studs for harness. Greatest diameter $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1103-1106.]
- 852.** Metal button, modern (?). Diameter $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [No. 1107.]
- 853.** Bronze figure of a dog hunting. Length $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1090.]
- 854.** Circular bronze disk. Diameter 1 in. [No. 1108.]
- 855.** Circular bronze disk, with raised centre, perforated. Diameter $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1109.]
- 856-888.** Circular bronze studs, heads of nails or bolts, buttons with shanks, etc. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1110-1122, 1141, 1142.]
- 889.** Bronze harness stud, with square head. Length $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [No. 1143.]
- 890.** Bronze stud, oblong, with rectangular head. Length 1 in. [No. 1145.]
- 891-894.** Three bronze heads of studs, or nails, or bolts. Greatest diameter 1 in. [Nos. 1146-1148, 1150.]
- 895, 896.** Two bronze heads of studs, rectangular. Lengths $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Nos. 1144, 1149.]
- 897-903.** Seven miscellaneous heads of bolts or studs. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1151-1157.]
- 904.** Bronze ornament, circular, worn by women (?), in two pieces joined by a hinge. The front portion is inlaid with blue stone, and the back is perforated with fine holes. Each half has attached to it a portion of the fastening. Diameter 1 in. [No. 1158.]

- 05.** Circular bronze brooch or stud, with a sunk design inlaid in blue. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 1159.]
- 06.** Similar bronze object, inlaid with stones of various colours. Diameter $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1160.]
- 107.** Rectangular bronze ornament, with a spiral design inlaid in blue, and a portion of the fastening. Length 1 in. [No. 1161.]
- 308.** Eight pieces of bronze scale armour. Length of the longest piece $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1162.]
- 909-945.** A miscellaneous collection of nails, with large flat heads or bosses, heads of bolts, portions of harness equipment, etc. Greatest length $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., greatest diameter $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. [No. 1163-1198.]
- 946.** Circular bronze boss, with portions of the attachment by which it was fastened. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1199.]
- 947.** Circular bronze object, with raised fluted and ornamented centre. Diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1200.]
- 948.** Circular, double, bronze boss, the upper side of which is perforated with three holes. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 1201.]
- 949-967.** A group of miscellaneous fragments of bronze objects, sword-sheath bases, heads of studs, and plaques, and objects the exact use of which is unknown. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., greatest diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1202-1221.]
- 968.** Portion of a hollow-work bronze button. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 1222.]
- 969.** Bronze object, with ring-shaped end, perforated. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1225.]
- 970.** Bronze harness ornament. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1223.]

- 971-985.** Fifteen bronze objects, which formed parts of harness and military equipment. Greatest length $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1224 and 1226-1239.]
- 986-1055.** Seventy fragments of bronze objects, studs, nails, bolts, rings, disks, plaques, etc., some of which are ornamented with concentric circles. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., greatest diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1240-1309.]
- 1056.** Triangular open work object, with a boss at the apex, ornamented with M. Length $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 1310.]
- 1057.** Similar object, with a boss having a human face upon it. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. [No. 1311.]
- 1058.** Similar object, with a rosette. Diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1312.]
- 1059.** Similar object, inlaid with a star design. Diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1313.]
- 1060.** Bronze plaque, with a head of Bacchus in high relief. Probably from a standard. Fine work. Height 3 in., breadth $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1346.]
- 1061.** Enamelled bronze boss for a shield. Fine work. Diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1314.]
- 1062, 1063.** Hollow-work bronze bosses for a shield. Diameters 3 in., $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1315, 1316.]
- 1064-1069.** Six harness ornaments in the shape of hollow crosses. Greatest length 2 in. [Nos. 1317-1322.]
- 1070-1085.** Sixteen miscellaneous fragments of bronze plaques and other objects. Greatest length 4 in. [Nos. 1326, 1327, 1329-1341.]
- 1086-1089.** Four fragments of white metal, one of which [No. 1086] has an incised ornament. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Nos. 1342-1345.]
- 1090.** Portion of a rectangular brooch. Length $1\frac{3}{8}$ ins. [No. 1324.]

- 091.** Bronze plaque, with enamelled scroll ornament. Length 1 in. [No. 1323.]
- 092.** Portion of rectangular bronze plaque. Length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., breadth $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1327.]
- 093.** Portion of a circular bronze object. Length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 1328.]
- 1094.** Bronze eagle, from a standard (?). Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1347.]
- 1095.** Bronze head of a horse, from a standard (?). Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1348.]
- 1096.** Bronze claw of a lion. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1349.]
- 1097-1101.** Bronze penannular rings, 3 hooked, 1 perforated, 1 plain. From $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. diameter to $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [Nos. 1350-1354.]
- 1102.** Fine bronze brooch, with well-chased line ornaments, and inlaid with a boss of blue glass. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1355.]
- 1103-1127.** Twenty-five circular bronze brooches and ornaments, some of which (Nos. 1120-1122) are inlaid; No. 1107 is ornamented with floral and leaf designs in relief. Greatest diameter 2 in. [Nos. 1356-1380.]
- 1128-1132.** Fine drop-shaped brooches, etc. Greatest length 2 in. [Nos. 1381-1385.]
- 1133.** Fine bronze bar ornament. Length 2 in. [No. 1385A.]
- 1134.** Fine bronze bar ornament, with four circular projections at the corners, and three annules, inlaid, in the centre. Length $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. [No. 1386.]
- 1135-1138.** Four bronze brooches, one (No. 1137) diamond shaped. Greatest length $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1387-1390.]

- 1139 - 1152.** Fourteen penannular bronze brooches. Greatest diameter $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. [Nos. 1391-1403.]
- 1153.** Bow-shaped bronze brooch. Length 2 in. [No. 1404.]
- 1154-1215.** Sixty-two bronze fibulae and fragments of fibulae. Greatest length 3 in. [Nos. 1405-1466.]
- 1216-1223.** Five fine bronze pins and three bronze needles, one being in the form of a spiral (No. 1221). Lengths 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., $7\frac{3}{4}$ in., $6\frac{1}{2}$ in., $5\frac{7}{8}$ in., $6\frac{1}{4}$ in., $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1470, 1475, 1491, etc.]
- 1224-1228.** Five pairs of forceps. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1507-1511.]
- 1229, 1230.** Two blades of bronze knives. Lengths 3 in., 2 in. [Nos. 1513, 1514.]
- 1231.** Bronze ear-scoop. Length 3 in. [No. 1515.]
- 1232-1243.** Twelve bronze bangles and rings, and fragments. Greatest diameter 3 in. [Nos. 1517 ff.]
- 1244, 1245.** Two bronze perforated objects, with forked projections. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1550, 1551.]
- 1246-1248.** Three bronze rings, one with flat bezel, one with circular boss, and one set with a stone. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1552, 1558, 1562.]
- 1249-1258.** Ten bronze steelyard counterpoises, three being in the form of serpents. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1566, 1567, 1568, etc.]
- 1259-1261.** Three bronze fragments. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1584, 1585, 1587.]
- 1262-1294.** Thirty-three bronze pins. Greatest length $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1479 ff.]
- 1295.** Fragment of the rim of a bronze vessel. Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1592.]
- 1296, 1297.** Fragments of flat bands of bronze. Lengths $2\frac{1}{2}$ in., $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1596, 1597.]

298-1335. Bronze spatula (No. 1313) bangles, coil rings, finger rings, with hollows for inlaid bezels, portions of hollow-work vessels, and rims of vessels. Greatest length 9 in., greatest diameter $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1518 ff.]

336-1346. Eleven bronze steelyard counterpoises, some being in the form of serpents. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1565, 1566, etc.]

347-1348. Portions of bronze bowls. Diameters 7 in., and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1590, 1591.]

The following objects are exhibited on the floor and helves of TABLE-CASE B.:—

2033-2045. A series of flat, drab ware bowls, with spouts and rounded edges. Some are stamped with letters and names. Greatest diameter $13\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1810-1822.]

2046. Rectangular baked red ware tile, with the impressions of the feet of a dog. Length $13\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 8 in. [No. 2918.]

2047. Portion of a baked red ware tile, with the inscription, in relief, **COH . Π . ASTVR[VM]**, "Second Cohort of the Astures." Length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. Published by Bruce, *Lap. Septen.*, p. 147, No. 288. Found at Æsica.

2048. Portion of a roofing tile, with part of a similar inscription. Length $7\frac{3}{4}$ in.

2049. Portion of a roofing tile, inscribed **LEG VIV.** Length 12 in. [No. 2181.]

2050. Plain baked tile. $16\frac{1}{2}$ in. square. [No. 2919.]

2051. Portion of a baked ware drain pipe. Length $11\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2913.]

2052. Portion of a baked ware drain pipe. Length 1 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2910.]

2053. Portion of a wine bowl, with spout and strainer. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2911, 2912.]

- 2054, 2055.** Two baked red ware pipes. Length 1 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.
- 2056.** Drab ware cup. Diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1859.]
- 2057.** Drab ware cup. Diameter $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1858.]
- 2058.** Plain square baked red ware tile. $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. square. [No. 1894.]
- 2059.** Baked red ware tile, with rude inscription. $8\frac{1}{4}$ in. square. [No. 3590.]
- 2060-2064.** Four similar tiles, and one fragment (with marks of a dog's paws); No. 2060 is inscribed LEG VIV. Length $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., breadth 8 in. [No. 3591, etc.]
- 2065.** Baked red ware pipe. Length 1 ft. 1 in. [No. 2909.]
- 2066.** Light ware vase, with handle. Height 7 in. [No. 2821.]
- 2067-2070.** Four drain pipes. Greatest length 7 in. [Nos. 1886 ff.]
- 2071.** Stone mould. Diameter 8 in.
- 2072, 2073.** Drab ware cup and saucer. Diameters 5 in., $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1856, 1857.]
- 2074-2076.** Three catapult stones. Diameter $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2817-2819.]

Table-Case C.

I.—MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES FOUND CHIEFLY AT CILURNUM.

- 1349-1359.** A group of bronze fragments, with a boss, or stud, and a small mace head having three projections. Greatest length 5 in., greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1598-1608.]

TABLE-CASES B AND C.—Nos. 2054-1422 385

- 60-1362.** Half a large, fluted glass bead ; seventeen blue and green fluted glass beads ; ten miscellaneous glass beads. Greatest diameter 1 in. [Nos. 2782-2784.]
- 163-1377.** Four glass fragments ; one model of the claw of a lion ; jet whorl, jet disk ; four inlaid bronze stud-heads, etc., three portions of bronze fibulae. Greatest length 2 in. ; greatest diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2785-2788, 2807-2809, 2812, 2936-2939, etc.]
- 378-1394.** Five fragments of glass and twelve bone pins. Greatest length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2789, etc.]
- 395, 1396.** Bronze triangular object, with a rectangular bronze plaque, ornamented with a double spiral ornament, and a bronze fragment. Length 2 in. and 1 in. [Nos. 2940, 2941.]
- 397.** Portion of a bronze brooch, or ornament, inlaid with blue, red and yellow stones or enamel. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2942.]
- 1398.** Bronze fibula. Length $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2943.]
- 1399-1417.** Bronze pendants, bronze boss, bronze fragments, stone ring, two jet whorls, portion of a bronze fibula, etc. Greatest length 2 in. ; greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2794, 2810 ff.]
- 1418-1425.** Bezels of rings :—
- 1418.** Onyx bezel of a ring, engraved with the figure of a lion. Length $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2774.]
- 1419.** Red jasper bezel ; female head. Length $\frac{9}{16}$ in. [No. 2776.]
- 1420.** Red jasper bezel ; the god Mars. Length $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [No. 2777.]
- 1421.** Carnelian bezel, circular ; kneeling figure. Length $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2778.]
- 1422.** Niccolo bezel ; figure of a goddess. Length $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 2775.]

1423. Carnelian bezel ; boy holding a bag. Length $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 2779.]

1424. Glass bezel, circular, floral design. Length $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 2780.]

1425. Glass bezel ; head of a goddess. Length $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 2781.]

1426-1446. A group of bronze rings and fragments of rings, and ringed objects. Greatest diameter $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 2947-2954 ; 2961-2973.]

1447-1461. Lead ring (No. 2974) ; fragment of a twisted bronze bangle ; fragments of bronze pins, bronze boss, bronze chisel, bronze forceps, string of twenty-one bronze circular beads, and harness ornament. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in., greatest diameter $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.
[Nos. 2955, etc.]

1462-1492. A group of bronze bosses and studs, which belonged to the equipment of harness, or military attire. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2893-3013.]

1493-1513. Nineteen bronze buckles and portions of personal ornaments, etc. Greatest length 2 in. [Nos. 3014-3033.]

1514. Bronze plaque, with a human face in relief. Length $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3034.]

1515. Bronze head of a boar. Length $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 3035.]

1516. Portion of a bronze chisel, 3 in. [No. 3036.]

1517. Blade of a bronze knife, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 3037.]

1518. Portion of a bronze ornament, with cross gilded zig-zag lines. Length 1 in. [No. 3066.]

1519. Bronze base of a sword sheath. Length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.
[No. 3038.]

1520-1547. Two bronze steelyard counterpoises (Nos. 1522, 1523), a bronze cruciform object (No. 1500).

bronze plaque (No. 1524), a disk with four perforations (No. 1525) and a series of miscellaneous bronze fragments. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., greatest diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 3039-3068.]

1548, 1549. Portions of two long-necked, green glass bottles. Lengths $5\frac{1}{2}$ in., $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 3567, 3568.]

1550. Section of bronze wire object, with two moveable pointers. Length 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 3084.]

1551-1562. Nine miscellaneous fragments of bronze; portion of a lead band (No. 1559,) piece of lead, with rectangular perforation (No. 1562), bronze cup-shaped object, with perforated lugs (No. 1561). Greatest length $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 3069, etc.]

1563-1574. Seven bronze fragments (one gilded, No. 1573); piece of bronze with fine patina (No. 1574); two lead whorls, one lead net-sinker, and one leaden object. Greatest length 3 in. [Nos. 3077 ff.]

1575-1583. Two bronze bells (Nos. 1580, 1581), one lead net-sinker (No. 1579), a portion of a key (No. 1577), etc. Greatest length 3 in., greatest diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3082 ff.]

1584-1594. Two bronze rings (Nos. 1584, 1585), bronze fibula (No. 1587), portion of an iron ring, with stone bezel (No. 1588), two bronze handles of vessels (Nos. 1592, 1594), etc. [Nos. 3087, etc.]

1595-1604. Portion of a bronze brooch, two bronze spirals, end of a three-faced blade of a dagger (No. 1598), wire pin, bronze ring, with blue glass bezel on which is the figure of a man (No. 1600), two handles (Nos. 1601, 1602), and two bronze objects, use unknown. Greatest length $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 3092 ff.]

1605-1612. Portion of a pair of bronze shears (No. 1605), a white metal chisel (No. 1609), six fragments of bronze rings, etc. Greatest length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3484, etc.]

1613, 1614. Section of a wooden ring, and wooden object perforated with two holes. Lengths $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Nos. 3552, 3553.]

1615, 1616. Two bone handles of knives or of some tool. Lengths $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. [Nos. 3554, 3555.]

1617-1630. Fourteen bronze objects, viz., portions of wire rings, pendants, personal ornaments, etc. Greatest length $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Nos. 3488, 3556, etc.]

1631. Portion of a bronze ring. Diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3557.]

1632. Iron ring, with oblong bezel. Diameter $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3558.]

1633, 1634. Portions of two bronze finger rings. Diameter $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Nos. 3559, 1806.]

1635. Portion of a silver ring, with agate bezel. Diameter $\frac{9}{16}$ in. [No. 3560.]

1636. Blue glass bezel from a ring. Length $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3561.]

1637. Portion of a gold wire chain. Length 3 in.

1638, 1639. Two portions of gold rings. Diameters $\frac{5}{8}$ in. and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1804, 1806.]

1640-1694. A group of iron chisels (Nos. 1646-1648), bronze pins, beads, studs, and miscellaneous objects: a bronze ring (No. 1653), portions of stone bangles, fragment of a silver bangle (No. 1689). Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3491, etc.]

1695. Flint arrow head. Length 1 in. [No. 3563.]

1696. Portion of a cast of a coin. [No. 3562.]

1697-1701. Triangular tin medicine weight, with two perforations. Weight nine grains. Nearly 1 in. long (No. 1807). Silver coin, flint fragment, etc. [Nos. 3564, etc.]

1702. Bronze chain, the links of which are formed of wire spirals. Length 1 ft. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 3536.]

1703, 1704. Fine bronze Roman purses, which were worn on the arm. The money was carried in the oval cavity, which is made out of a single piece of sheet bronze, and the handle is formed by bending round the two long strips of metal that were left attached to it for the purpose, and twisting the end of each round the other spirally. The cover is hinged and made out of a single piece of bronze, the edges of which were bent over in such a way as to fit tightly the sides of the cavity wherein the coins were placed; on one side is a spring fastening, and the cover could be securely locked by means of the strong spring catch, a portion of which is seen projecting at one end. No. 1703 was found near Chesterholm [Vindolana]. Length 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. No. 1704 (length 4 in.) was found at Birdoswald [Amboglanna].

1705. Fine bronze axe-head. Found at Heddon-on-the-Wall. Presented by the late CADWALLADER J. BATES, Esq., 1900. Length 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3578.]

1706. Flint flake. Found at Heddon-on-the-Wall. Presented by CADWALLADER J. BATES, Esq., 1900. Diameter 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3580.]

1707. Massive bronze ring, with rectangular, bevelled, crystal bezel. Diameter 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3583.]

1708, 1709. String of glass and stone beads. Found at Rochester and Alnham, in Northumberland. Presented by W. Coulson, Esq. [No. 3801.] Collection of small stones of various colours for inlaying in a pavement. Presented by W. Coulson, Esq.

1710. Jet ring inscribed with a monogram (T.B.*) and the legend, "Who shall separate me and thee during life?" (QVIS SEPA MEVM ET TVVM DVRANTE VITA) on the outer edge. Greatest diameter 1 $\frac{1}{16}$ in. [No. 3582.]

- 1711.** Silver coin of Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh 'Alī Al-dīn, Mogul of India, A.D. 1556-1605. Found at Procolitia in 1876, where it appears to have been dropped by a visitor. Length $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3581.]
- 1712.** Seal of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of York. Inscribed:—*Sigillum comunitatis mercatorum civitatis Eboraci*. Diameter $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. Found at Kirkby Thore. With this is exhibited the bronze seal of THOMAS DENE, prior of the Cluniac Monastery of St. James at Exeter. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.

II.—ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE WELL OF THE GODDESS COVENTINA AT PROCOLITIA AND OTHER PLACES.

- 1.** Portion of a drab ware vase, with raised bands. Length 3 in. [No. 2052.]
- 2.** Bronzed-glaze ware vase, with six indents. Height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2051.]
- 3.** Samian ware vase, broken, with marks of copper oxide. Stamped GRACCI. Diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2172.]
- 4.** Small drab ware vase. Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2053.]
- 5.** Drab ware vase. Height $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2050.]
- 6.** Red ware jug. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2049.]
- 7.** Drab ware jug. Height $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2048.]
- 8.** Black ware vase, ornamented with five vertical series of punctures. Height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2177B.]
- 9.** Drab ware vase, with narrow neck. Height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2177A.]
- 10.** Samian ware moulded cup. Diameter $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 3587.]
- 11.** Samian ware cup. Diameter $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2170.]

4. Samian ware vase. Height 4 in. [No. 2170.]
5. Samian ware cup, broken. Diameter 4½ in. Stamp **GENIALIS FECIT**. [No. 2171.]
6. Samian ware bowl, ornamented with figures of animals, horse, lion, stag, hare, etc., in relief. Diameter 8 in., height 4½ in. [No. 3586.]
7. A similar Samian ware bowl. Diameter 7½ in., height 4½ in. [No. 3585.]
8. Light-coloured flat bowl, with edge turned, and ornamented lip. Stained in places with oxide of copper. Diameter 10¾ in. [No. 2177.]
9. Massive stone hammer-head. Length 9 in. [No. 3592.]
10. Green glass stone bottle, with flat handle, short neck. Height 11¼ in. [No. 2045.]
11. Drab ware vase, with brown lines, narrow neck, the front of which is ornamented with a female head, and flat handle. Height 11 in. [No. 2047.]
12. Rough ware vase ornamented with a series of serrated raised bands and punctures at the base, and cavities intended to resemble doors at the sides, and a deep, projecting, serrated mouth. In the cavities are scratched the following letters:—

C	V	(P)		G	S	T	(P)
S	A		T	V		R	
			N		G	A	
					B	I	
					S		S

which are thought to read COVENTINA AUGUSTA SATURNINUS GABINIUS. Height 8½ in., diameter at the mouth 8 in. [No. 2179.]

13. Rough ware vase, ornamented with four doors, or panels, having pillars, and with incised linear designs. On the panels the following words are inscribed:—

C	O	V	E		V	O	T		V		S	A	T		V		F	E	C	I	T					
T	I	N	A		A	M		A		N		R		N		I		G	A	B	I					
G	V	S	T	A		I	B	V	S	S		V	I	S		N		V		S		N		I	V	S

which is expanded by Mr. John Clayton¹ thus:—
 “COVENTINAE AUGUSTAE VOTUM MANIBUS SUI
 SATURNINUS FECIT GABINIUS.” Thus it is clear that
 both vases (No. 20 and 21) were dedicated to the
 goddess Coventina by Saturninus Gabinius. Height
 8½ in., diameter at the mouth 7¼ in. [No. 2178.]

22. Portion of a human skull, in which were found several coins. Length 5½ in. [No. 2046.]
- 23, 24. Two drab ware vases. Height 4½ in., and 4⅝ in. [Nos. 2686, 2687.] Found at Nether Denton.
25. Lead bowl or saucer. Diameter 6¾ in. [No. 2931.]
26. Lead cup. Diameter 3½ in. [No. 2930.]
27. Bronze object, hollow, conical, with two projections. Height 9¾ in. [No. 3593.]
28. Bronze tripod cooking pot, with long handle, ornamented with concentric circles. Height 6¼ in. [No. 2923.] Found at Corbridge. [Not Roman.]
29. Bronze tripod jug, with handle and stayed spout. Height 9¼ in. [No. 2922.]
30. Drab ware vase. Diameter 2 in. [No. 2054.]
- 31-34. Portions of leather shoes. Greatest length 9 in. [Nos. 1966-1969.]
- 35-44. Ten fragments of blue, green, and white glass vessels. Greatest length 2½ in. [Nos. 1970-1979.]
- 45-48. Tusks of boars. Greatest length 5 in. [No. 1990-1993.]
49. Wooden pin, with round head. Length 2¼ in. [No. 1994.]
- 50-53. Bone whorl and three ornamented disks. Diameters ⅞ in. to ¾ in. [Nos. 1995, 1997-1999.]
54. Bone handle for a bronze knife. Length 2¾ in. [No. 1996.]

¹ *Arch. .El.*, vol. viii. p. 7 ff.

- 55.** White stone button-shaped ornament. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2000.]
- 56.** Small rough ware cone. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2001.]
- 57-61.** Portions of bangles made of bronze, etc. Greatest diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2002-2006.]
- 62.** Ten beads made of blue, green, and variegated glass. [No. 2007.]
- 63.** Jet ring, with round flat projection for a device. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 2008.]
- 64.** Silver ring. Diameter 1 in. [No. 2008A.]
- 65.** Twenty-four gilded glass beads. [No. 2008C.]
- 66.** Silver ring, inscribed **MAT**
RES. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2008B.]
- 67.** Portion of a gilded bronze ring, with lapis-lazuli bezel, inscribed with a figure of Jupiter. Diameter $\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2008D.]
- 68.** Gold ring, with eight facets. Diameter $\frac{5}{8}$ in. [No. 2008E.]
- 69-82.** A group of bronze rings, flat, spiral, etc., those intended for the finger having bezels. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2010-2022.]
- 83-91.** An interesting group of portions of brooches, inlaid with designs in white, yellow, red, blue, and green enamel; No. 91 is set with two stones. Greatest diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2024-2032.]
- 92.** Jet ring. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2033.]
- 93.** Bronze stag, enamelled in red; portion of a brooch. Length 1 in. [No. 2033A.]
- 94-96.** Portions of bronze brooches. Diameters 1 in., $\frac{1}{8}$ in., length $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2034-2036.]
- 97.** Handle of a bronze vessel. Length 4 in. [No. 2037.]
- 98.** Harness equipment. Length $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2038.]

- 99.** White metal chisel. Length $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 203.]
- 100, 101.** Two bronze bells, one with a portion of iron clapper still remaining. Height 2 in. [Nos. 2040, 2041.]
- 102.** Bronze horse. Length $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2042.]
- 103.** Bronze dog. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2043.]
- 104.** Bronze head from a statue of a god or emperor. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2043A.]
- 105.** Bronze head from the statue of a man. Length $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 2043B.]
- 106.** Bronze head from the statue of a woman. Length 2 in. [No. 2043C.]
- 107.** Bone stylus or pin, with a head carved to resemble that of a woman. Length $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 2043D.]
- 108.** Bone die. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2043E.]
- 109.** Oval bronze brooch, inlaid. Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2074.]
- 110.** Lead net-sinker, with iron ring. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2044.]
- 111.** Solid bronze right hand, a votive offering. Length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2056.]
- 112.** Portion of gilded bronze plating. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2057.]
- 113-123.** Hollow copper cylindrical objects, portions of bronze bolts. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2060-2069, etc.]
- 124.** Bronze cymbal. Diameter 7 in. [No. 2058.]
- 125-140.** Bronze fibulae, rings, stud, hinged ring, etc. Greatest length $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2070-2088.]

III.—MISCELLANEOUS ANTIQUITIES FOUND IN THE CAMP AT PROCOLITIA.

- 141-151.** Bronze needles, pins, etc. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2097-2107.]

- 153.** Bowls of spoons. Lengths $1\frac{7}{8}$ in., $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2115, 2116.]
- 155.** Lead buckle and lead disk. Length $\frac{7}{8}$ in., diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2118, 2119.]
- Bronze instrument, pierced at one end with a rectangular slit. Length 19 in.(?). [No. 2098.]
- 161.** Fragment of bronze base for a sword sheath, ring, glass bead, etc. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2102-2108, 2109, 2114.]
- 2.** Gilded bronze ring, with inlaid glass bezel. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2212.]
- 13, 164.** Blades of bronze knives, with bolt hole. Lengths 3 in. and 4 in. [No. 2110, 2111.]
- 55-174.** Ten fragments of glass bottles, bowls, etc. No. 174 is ornamented with a cross in relief. Greatest length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2122-2131.]
- 75.** Fragment of a bead. Length $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 2133.]
- 176-178.** Three fragments of glass. Greatest length $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Nos. 2132-2134.]
- 179-181.** Three opaque glass bosses. Diameter $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. [Nos. 2135-2137.]
- 182-197.** Sixteen stone, earthenware, bone, and jet spindle-whorls, a few ornamented with concentric circles. Greatest diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2139-2154.]
- 198.** Whetstone. Length $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2155.]
- 199-202.** Portions of bone pins. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2157-2160.]
- 203.** Portion of a wooden comb. Length 2 in. [No. 2156.]
- 204.** Portion of a white, painted terra-cotta ornament. Length $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2163.]
- 205.** Portion of the head of a gray ware statue of a female. Length $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2164.]

- 1797-1804.** Eight iron knives of various kinds. Greatest length 9 in. [Nos. 1660, 1690-1696.]
- 1805.** Iron socketed spear-head. Length 4 in. [No. 1661.]
- 1806-1814.** Iron chisels. Greatest length 9 in. (No. 1814 may be a clamp). [Nos. 1697-1705.]
- 1815.** Iron spud. Length 5 in. [No. 1710.]
- 1816.** Portion of an iron tool. Length $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1707.]
- 1817.** Portion of a two-pronged fork. Length $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 1709.]
- 1818-1820.** Iron spuds. Lengths $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., 9 in., and 6 in. [Nos. 1706, 1711, 1712.]
- 1821-1823.** Three iron tools for striking circles. [Nos. 1713-1715.]
- 1824.** Iron pickaxe. Length 1 ft. 9 in. (blade $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.). [No. 1708.]
- 1825.** Iron instrument for boring. Length 5 in. [No. 1716.]
- 1826-1836.** Iron keys, some of them of modern shape, with sockets. Greatest length $10\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1717-1727.]
- 1837-1840.** Four iron staples, three with rings. Greatest length 4 in. [Nos. 1728-1731.]
- 1841-1853.** Thirteen iron bolts, nails, and pins. Greatest length 6 in. [Nos. 1733-1745.]
- 1854-1856.** Three iron spatulae. Greatest length $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1746-1748.]
- 1857-1866.** Three angle irons (Nos. 1857-1859), and seven T irons. Greatest length $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 1749-1758.]
- 1867-1870.** Four iron hooks. Greatest length 4 in. [Nos. 1759-1762.]

- 1871.** Forked iron object. Length $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 1763.]
1872-1878. Iron rods. Greatest length 1 ft. $11\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 [Nos. 1764-1770.]

Table-Case E.

A COLLECTION OF IRON TOOLS AND WEAPONS FOUND AT CILURNUM.

- 1879, 1880.** Two iron spear-heads (?). Length 7 in.,
 $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1771, 1772.]
- 1881, 1882.** Portions of hinges (?). Lengths $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., $6\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 [Nos. 1773, 1774.]
- 1883-1888.** Iron rings, ringed bars, and parts of bits.
 Greatest length 5 in. [Nos. 1775-1780.]
- 1889.** Iron tool; use uncertain. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No.
 3105.]
- 1890.** Iron pickaxe. Length 11 in. [No. 3107.]
- 1891.** Iron hammer-head. Length $4\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3116.]
- 1892-1897.** Horse trappings, rings, buckle, bit, etc.
 Greatest length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 1781-1783, 1785-1787.]
- 1898.** Staple fastening and chain. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No.
 1784.]
- 1899-1901.** Three iron horse-shoes. Greatest length
 $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. [Nos. 1788, 1789, 1793.]
- 1902-1904.** Iron pickaxes. Greatest length 1 ft. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 [Nos. 3108, 3109, 3112.]
- 1905-1911.** Iron chisels, rods, etc. Greatest length $8\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 [Nos. 3118-3124.]
- 1912-1914.** Horse-shoes. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos.
 1790-1792.]
- 1915.** Portion of a sickle. Length 4 in. [No. 3106.]
- 1916.** Four-pointed iron caltrap. Modern? Height
 $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch. [No. 1794.] (See the note on p. 413.)

- 1917, 1918.** Two iron pickaxes. Lengths 1 ft. 2½ in. 9½ in. [Nos. 3110, 3111.]
- 1919.** Iron hammer-head. Length 3½ in. [No. 3113.]
- 1920.** Four links of an iron chain. Length of each 4½ in. [No. 1795.]
- 1921, 1922.** Pole bands. Diameter 4 in. [Nos. 1796. 1797.]
- 1923.** Portion of an iron ring; bezel wanting. Diameter 1½ in. [No. 1799.]
- 1924.** Portion of a buckle. Length 1½ in. [No. 1081.]
- 1925.** Portion of an iron borer, set in lightly carved bone handle. Length 3¾ in. [No. 1798.]
- 1926.** Iron staple and ring, with its original lead setting. Length 5½ in. [No. 1802.]
- 1927.** Iron borer (?). Length 6 in. [No. 3117.]
- 1928, 1929.** Iron hammer-heads. Lengths 5½ in. and 5 in. [Nos. 3114, 3115.]
- 1930-1933.** Four iron tools, chisel, etc. Greatest length 9 in. [No. 3125-3128.]
- 1934.** Iron awl (?). Length 4½ in. [No. 3130.]
- 1935.** Iron stake point. Length 6 in. [No. 3113.]
- 1936, 1937.** Iron clamps. Lengths 7 in., 6½ in. [Nos. 3132, 3136.]
- 1938-1941.** Iron spuds, or shares. Lengths 6¾ in., etc. [Nos. 3134, 3135, 3177, 3178.]
- 1942.** Iron trowel. Length 9 in. [No. 3133.]
- 1943.** Iron key (?). Length 8 in. [No. 3139.]
- 1944.** Iron two-pronged instrument. Length 6 in. [No. 3140.]
Iron borer. Length 5 in. [No. 3141.]
- 1947.** Two- and three-pronged instruments. Lengths 4½ in., 3¾ in. [Nos. 3142, 3143.]

- 1948, 1949.** Iron tripods. Height $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3145, 3146.]
- 1950.** Double iron hook. Length 10 in. [No. 3147.]
- 1951.** Part of an iron staple. Length 3 in. [No. 3148.]
- 1952-1955.** Iron pins and spatula, one with a hook. Greatest length $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3149-3152.]
- 1956.** Iron hook. Length 4 in. [No. 3153.]
- 1957, 1958.** Iron axe-heads(?). Lengths $5\frac{3}{4}$ in., $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3156, 3157.]
- 1959.** Double iron hoe (?). Width 7 in. [No. 3144.]
- 1960-1964.** Iron rings, one with a hook (No. 1960). Greatest diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3155, 3158, 3161.]
- 1965-1967.** Portions of iron bands. Diameter $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3162-3164.]
- 1968.** Iron crescent ornament, with nail. Diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 3166.]
- 1969, 1970.** Iron nails or bolts. Length $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3167-3168.]
- 1971-1976.** Angle irons. Greatest length 6 in. [Nos. 3169, 3171-3175.]
- 1977-1990.** Fourteen T irons. Greatest length $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3175-3177, etc.]
- 1991-1998.** Iron staple, clamp, etc. Greatest length $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3154, 3170, 3190, etc.]

Table-Case F.

I.—A COLLECTION OF IRON TOOLS AND WEAPONS FOUND AT CILURNUM.

- 1999-2010.** Twelve iron rods, clamps, pieces of flat binding iron, etc. Greatest length 1 ft. [Nos. 3196-3205, 3208-3210.]

- 2011.** Iron axe-head. Length 8 in. [No. 3211.]
- 2012.** Portion of an iron ladle. Length $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. [No. 3214.]
- 2013.** Flat bar of iron, with projection at right angles, perforated. Length 1 ft. 8 in. [No. 3204.]
- 2014.** Iron handle of a bucket or vessel. Length 11 in. [No. 3213.]
- 2015.** Iron open-work object, part of harness equipment (?). Length 4 in. [No. 3212.]
- 2016-2018.** Two iron borers and a staple. Lengths 7 in., $3\frac{1}{2}$ in., $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3461-3463.]
- 2019.** Triangular iron object, with projections. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3465.]
- 2020.** Portion of an iron agricultural implement. Length 10 in. [No. 3454.]
- 2021.** Iron awl (?). Length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3455.]
- 2022.** Iron instrument for striking a circle. Length 5 in. [No. 3457.]
- 2023.** Iron spur. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 3459.]
- 2024.** Axe-head. Length 4 in. [No. 3460.]
- 2025-2029.** Portions of iron rods, etc. Greatest length 1 ft. 4 in. [Nos. 3206, 3207, etc.]
- 2030.** Iron stirrup. Length 4 in. [No. 3456.]
- 2031.** Flat iron ? Length 5 in. [No. 3464.]
- 2032.** Two lead clamps from the bridge at Cilurnum. Lengths 9 in. [Nos. 2928, 2929.]

The collection of iron nails and arrow-heads which follows the above in Table-Case F was found at Borcovicus.

II.—ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT BROVONACAE
(KIRKBY THORE).¹

- 1-8.** Bone, lead, and pottery spindle whorls. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2183-2190.]
- 9.** Jet boss. Diameter 2 in. [No. 2191.]
- 10.** Bronze statuette of man; his right hand is uplifted, and over his left arm hang the folds of a toga. Height $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2773.]
- 11-18.** Portions of iron pins, etc. Greatest length $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2690 ff.]
- 19.** Portion of a jet bangle. Diameter $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2192.]
- 20-23.** Tusks of boars. Greatest length $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2193-2196.]

¹ The following account by Dr. Bruce (*Arch. Æl.*, vol. v. p. 140) of some discoveries made at Kirkby Thore serves to indicate the importance of the Roman Station at Brovonacae:—

“The next point of interest was Kirkby Thore. Here, too, the Station may be made out with tolerable distinctness. In addition to the stones and other treasures which have, from time to time, been exhumed in this camp and its vicinity, several sculptures, recently discovered, attracted our attention. They are preserved on the premises of Mr. Crosly, the banker. They were found about a month before our arrival, in making a cutting for a diversion of a turnpike road, in order to suit the purposes of a new railway.

“The most important of them is a sculpture which, probably, has formed the upper part of a funeral tablet. It represents a sick female reclining upon a couch, while an attendant, also a female, supplies her with food. A table, furnished with edibles, stands in front of the couch. The languishing expression of the dying person is very well managed, though one would scarcely expect to see such substantial viands placed before a person *in extremis*. A modern painter's mode of managing such a subject is to put a number of phials upon the tables, with ominous looking labels attached to their necks. The Romans, however, seem to have thought that physic was a sorry preparation for a long journey. My friend Mr. Roach Smith tells me that in similar sculptures he has occasionally noticed a duck or a trussed fowl upon the table. Perhaps the intention of all this was to signify, not that the patient had not been sent supperless out of the world, but that his wants in the season of his sickness had been sedulously attended to by his friends. In one corner of the tablet is a brief inscription. I have not yet made it out to my satisfaction, but it seems to intimate that the daughter of the deceased, one Crescima, had had this put up in memory of her mother.

“Next we have two sculptures representing warriors on horseback. Probably both of them are sepulchral. Both of them have foes

402 ANTIQUE.

2011. Iron as

2012. Portion
3214.]

2013. Flat
perforated

2014. Iron
[No. 321.]

2015. Iron
ment (3).

2016-2018.
7 in., 3½

2019. Triar
2½ in.

2020. Port
Length

2021. Iron

2022. Iron
5 in.

2023. Iron

2024. AS

2025-202.
1 ft.

2030. In

2031. Fl

2032. T
Length

The
follow
covic
us.

- Top of bronze studs, etc. Greatest diameter 1 in. [Nos. 2708-2716.]
- Fragments of white and green glass vessels. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2208-2217, etc.]
- Fragment, painted green, with rectangular perforation. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2218.]
- Statuette of Hercules. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2219.]
- Bronze fibulae, ornamented with annules. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2223, 2224.]
- Bronze rings, plain and flat. Diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2717 ff.]
- Bronze brooches, in the form of penannular rings, with pins. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2743, etc.]
- Bronze disk, ornamented with concentric circles. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2220.]
- Bronze studs, three of which are inlaid with enamel. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2229-2230.]
- Bronze armour scales. Length of each 1 in. [Nos. 2231.]
- Bronze penannular brooch. Diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2232.]
- Brooch made of bronze wire spirals. Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2244.]
111. Portions of bronze fibulae. Length 2 in. [Nos. 2745, 2746.]
117. Miscellaneous bronze fragments. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2748 ff.]
- Bronze penannular brooch. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2235.]
- Fragments of a bronze tube. Length 3 in. [No. 2749.]

- 24, 25.** Bronze rings. Greatest diameter 2 in. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2691, 2692.]
- 26.** Silver denarius of Antoninus Pius, attached by a ring to a piece of chain. Length 4 in. [No. 2693.]
- 27, 28.** Bronze pins, with heads. Lengths 3 in. and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2693, 2694.]
- 29.** Bronze ear scoop. Length $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2695.]
- 30.** Portion of a twisted bronze wire bangle. Diameter $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2696.]
- 31-33.** Portions of bronze fibulae, etc. Lengths 2 in. [Nos. 2698-2700.]
- 34.** Bronze object. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2701.]
- 35-39.** Fragments of green and white glass vessels. Greatest length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2197-2201.]
- 40.** Rectangular bronze weight. Length $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2702.]
- 41-45.** Portions of studs and buttons, bronze ring, etc. Diameter 1 inch. [Nos. 2703-2707.]
- 46-51.** Fragments of green and variegated glass vessels. Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2202-2207.]

"lying under them. One of them is armed with a large sword of the German type; the other lunges against his prostrate foe. One of the sculptures is rough, having been merely blocked out; the other is in a more finished state; but both are most spirited conceptions.

"There is a fragment of another sculptured horseman in Mr. Crosly's garden. It has been very carefully polished; and, however much it has suffered from violence, has suffered nothing from weather. A troop of horse must surely have garrisoned this Station.

"Two rude sculptures (one of them imperfect) represent a lion pressing with all its weight upon a ram, which it holds in its claws. These are probably Mithraic, and represent the power of the sun when in Leo, as compared with his influence when in Aries. Figures of this kind are not uncommon in Roman Stations.

"We have a fir cone with a double fillet round it. This, also, probably was connected with the worship of Mithras, or the mother of the gods. The resinous nature of the plant indicated fiery vitality.

"Next is a small urn fitted into a cavity formed in a stone. It was no doubt connected with a burial. The urn seems to be too small to have held the bones of the departed—it has probably held food or unguents. Besides these there is a much battered head, and some smaller fragments."

- 52-60.** A group of bronze studs, etc. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2708-2716.]
- 61-72.** Fragments of white and green glass vessels. Greatest length $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [Nos. 2208-2217, etc.]
- 73.** Bone object, painted green, with rectangular perforation. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2218.]
- 74.** Bronze statuette of Hercules. Height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2222.]
- 75, 76.** Bronze fibulae, ornamented with annules. Lengths $4\frac{1}{2}$ in., $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2223, 2224.]
- 77-94.** Bronze rings, plain and flat. Diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2717 ff.]
- 95-101.** Bronze brooches, in the form of penannular rings, with pins. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2732, 2743, etc.]
- 102.** Bone disk, ornamented with concentric circles. Diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [No. 2220.]
- 103-106.** Bronze studs, three of which are inlaid with designs in enamel. Greatest diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2227-2230.]
- 107.** Nine bronze armour scales. Length of each 1 in. [No. 2231.]
- 108.** Bronze penannular brooch. Diameter $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2226.]
- 109.** Brooch made of bronze wire spirals. Length $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 2244.]
- 110, 111.** Portions of bronze fibulae. Length 2 in. [Nos. 2745, 2746.]
- 112-117.** Miscellaneous bronze fragments. Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2748 ff.]
- 118.** Bronze penannular brooch. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2225.]
- 119.** Fragments of a bronze tube. Length 3 in. [No. 2237.]

- 120, 121.** Bronze and white metal hollow-work brooch.
Length 2 in., $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2239, 2240.]
- 122, 123.** Bronze fibulae, one gilded. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2232, 2238.]
- 124-133.** Fragments of bronze pins and other objects.
Greatest length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2753-2760 ff.]
- 134.** Bronze knife handle, ribbed, with red and black
enamelling diamond-wise. Length $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. [No. 2233.]
- 135, 136.** Bronze rings. Diameters $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.
[Nos. 2234, 2235.]
- 137.** Portion of gilded bronze band. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
[No. 2764.]
- 138-145.** Fragments of bronze fibulae, lead ring, iron
stone objects, etc. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2765-2770,
2772, 2773.]
- 146.** Portion of a drab, banded, terra-cotta pot. Height
 $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2221.]

Table-Case G.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT NETHER DENTON.

1. Cylindrical bronze object, with two projections.
Height $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2512.]
2. Bronze lid of a box, circular, with head of Medusa,
embossed. Diameter $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2513.]
3. Bronze circular object. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2514.]
4. Bronze handle of a vessel. Length $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No.
2515.]
5. Bronze handle of a vessel. Length $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No.
2516.]
6. Bronze tube, banded. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2517.]
7. Jet ring, with projection. Diameter 1 in. [No. 2518.]

11. Three bronze rings and a double ring. Diameter 1 in. [Nos. 2519-2522.]
22. Portions of bronze fibulae. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2523-2532, 2554.]
 1. Bronze boss. Diameter 2 in. [No. 2544.]
 1. Lead boss. Diameter 1 in. [No. 2545.]
 5. Bronze wire-work object. Length 2 in. [No. 2546.]
- 6-28. Two bronze rings, etc. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2547, 2548, 2551.]
29. Glass fragment. Length $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. [No. 2549.]
- 30-33. Bronze fibulae. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 2533-2536.]
34. Bronze spatula, with hooked handle. Length 3 in. [No. 2537.]
- 35-46. Bronze studs, bosses, heads of pins, etc. Diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. [Nos. 3938, 3943, etc.]
- 47-59. Fragments of bronze fibulae, etc. Length 2 in. [Nos. 2558-2566, etc.]
- 60-81. Twenty-two black and white opaque glass bosses, etc. Diameter 1 in. [Nos. 2592-2613.]
- 82-89. Eight blue glass beads and fragments of beads. Diameter 1 in. [Nos. 2614-2621.]
- 90-109. Fragments of large green glass bottles, etc. Length $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. [Nos. 2573-2591.]
- 110-181. A large group of portions of Samian moulded ware bowls, cups, and other vessels, ornamented with hunting scenes, figures of animals, etc., in relief. Greatest diameter 8 in. [Nos. 2623-2682.] No. 164 is stamped with a name, and on No. 181 is a graffito.
- 182, 183. Two flat Samian ware dishes. Diameters $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. and $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. [Nos. 3600, 3601.] From Harty, in Kent.]

408 NETHER DENTON ANTIQUITIES—Nos. 184, 185

184. Flat lead vessel, with ribbed sides, and a miscellaneous collection of 61 bronze and 10 silver coins, and 5 bronze rings, etc., which were found in it. Greatest diameter 7 in., depth $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3605.]

185. Fragment of a drab ware strainer, from a vase, with fine perforations. Diameter $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 2689.]

ROMAN MILL AND MILL-STONES FOR GRINDING CORN,
CHIEFLY FROM CILURNUM.

1. Mill for grinding wheat. Fragments of the iron ring which encircled the upper stone, and the iron socket in which was fixed the handle by which it was made to revolve, still remain *in situ*. Diameter 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 3866.]

On the shelves fitted to the west wall of the small room are exhibited a number of mill-stones, both nether and upper, made of stone taken from Andernach and local quarries. The following is a list of them :—

2. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 6½ in. [No. 3260.]
3. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 10 in. [No. 3233.]
4. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 9 in. [No. 3248.]
5. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 7½ in. [No. 3234.]
6. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 7 in. [No. 3257.]
7. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 3235.]
8. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 4½ in. [No. 3244.]
9. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 3241.]
10. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 3 in. [No. 3236.]
11. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 5 in. [No. 3240.]
12. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 4 in. [No. 3259.]
13. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 3 in. [No. 3239.]
14. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 5 in. [No. 3245.]
15. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 3½ in. [No. 3254.]
16. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 3 in. [No. 3253.]
17. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 3 in. [No. 3251.]
18. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 1½ in. [No. 3258.]
19. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 6 in. [No. 3247.]
20. Mill-stone (?) Diameter 11 in. [No. 326.]
21. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 3250.]

22. Upper Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 1½ in. [No. 3249.]
23. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 2½ in. [No. 3252.]
24. Nether Mill-stone, fragment. Diameter 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 3246.]
25. Nether Mill-stone, fragment. Diameter 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 3255.]
26. Upper Mill-stone, fragment. Diameter 10 in. [No. 3243.]
27. Upper Mill-stone, fragment. Diameter 9½ in. [No. 3256.]
28. Upper Mill-stone, fragment. Diameter 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 3238.]
29. Upper Mill-stone, with flutings. Diameter 1 ft. 1 in. [No. 327.]
30. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 0½ in. [No. 328.]
31. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 1 ft. 2 in. [No. 3237.]
32. Nether Mill-stone. Diameter 11 in. [No. 329.]
33. Stone mould, for casting a leaden vase. Diameter 6½ in. [No. 2923.]
34. Stone bowl, with lip. Diameter 8 in. [No. 330.]
35. Portion of a stone bowl, with handle. Diameter 7 in. [No. 331.]
- 36-39. Below the complete mill, in the small room, are exhibited a massive stone bowl, with two handles, and portions of fused slabs of lead; the stone bowl was found in the camp at Cilurnum, and the pieces of lead by the pier of the Roman bridge, on the other side of the river. [Nos. 2926, 2927, and 3865.] In the other corner of the room is a portion of a large earthenware vessel, the provenance of which is unknown. [No. 2839.]
40. Stone snake, in seven pieces. [No. 332.]
Nos. 33-35 and No. 40 were found at Cilurnum.

In the large Table-Case which stands in the middle of the small room of the Museum at Chesters will be found several hundred fragments of Samian ware bowls, vases, cups, saucers, plates, etc.; many of these are ornamented with raised patterns and figures of men, animals, etc., and many have stamped upon them the names of the potters who made the vessels of which they once formed parts. Besides these there are here exhibited large groups of fragments of drab ware vessels, and handles of amphorae which have stamped upon them the names of their makers; in one corner of the case are grouped boar-tusks, portions of human skulls, fragments of dark-coloured glass, etc.

RINGS AND ENGRAVED STONES FROM CILURNUM,
BORCOVICUS, ETC.

1. Carnelian bezel of a ring, engraved with figures of Apollo and Jupiter. Length $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [No. 3216.] Mounted, with a plaster impression, in a block.
2. Carnelian bezel of a ring, engraved with a representation of a chariot race. Length $\frac{9}{16}$ in. [No. 3217.] Found at Cilurnum in 1882. For a full description of the engraved scene see above, p. 108.
3. Gilded bronze ring. Found broken into three pieces. Diameter $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3217A.]
4. Silver ring, with a bevelled carnelian bezel, engraved with the figure of a cock. Length of bezel $\frac{3}{8}$ in. [No. 3218.]
5. Silver ring, with a bevelled carnelian bezel, engraved with a figure of Mars (?). Length of bezel $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Setting modern. [No. 3219.]
6. Gold ring, with a blue stone bezel, inscribed with the figure of a man holding a spear. Length of bezel $\frac{9}{16}$ in. Diameter of ring $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. At each end of the bezel the ring broadens out, and the flat parts are

ornamented with lines and curved designs. No. 3220.] This ring was found near the southern gateway at Borcovicus in 1852.

7. Gold ear-pendant, consisting of two *acanthi* and two spirals. Length $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. Found, with No. 5, near the southern gateway at Borcovicus in 1852. [No. 3222.]
8. Gold earring, set with a rectangular blue stone. Length $\frac{1}{4}$ in. [No. 3221.]

The following is a list of the Water-colour Drawings which were formerly hung upon the West Wall of the large Room :—

1. INSCRIPTION AND SCULPTURES FOUND AT BORCOVICUS.
2. THE ROMAN STATION OF BORCOVICUS ON THE ROMAN WALL.
3. VASE INSCRIBED WITH THE NAME OF GABINIUS SATURNINUS, FOUND AT PROCOLITIA.
4. VASE DEDICATED TO COVENTINA AUGUSTA BY GABINIUS SATURNINUS.
5. BASKETS OF COINS AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT PROCOLITIA.
6. INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURE FOUND AT PROCOLITIA.
7. RECUMBENT STATUE OF THE GOD OR GENIUS OF THE NORTH TYNE, FOUND AT CILURNUM.
8. CYBELE STANDING ON A BULL, FOUND AT CILURNUM.
9. INSCRIPTIONS FOUND AT CILURNUM.
10. INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURES FOUND AT CILURNUM.
11. WEST GATE OF THE CAMP AT CILURNUM.
12. VIEW OF THE PRAETORIUM AND BATHS AT CILURNUM.
13. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE BATHS AT CILURNUM.
14. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE BATHS AT CILURNUM.
15. FRONT VIEW OF THE ROMAN VILLA AT CILURNUM.
16. SIDE VIEW OF THE ROMAN VILLA AT CILURNUM.
17. BACK VIEW OF THE ROMAN VILLA AT CILURNUM.

NOTE.

The following is a description of an iron caltrap figured in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," Newcastle, vol. iv., p. 170:—

"An iron caltrap, *murex* or *tribulus*, found at Chesters with other Roman objects. It is rarely found with the remains of the Roman Age. It frequently occurs amongst remains of medieval times. The annexed illustration, kindly lent by the Royal Archæological Institute, is from a specimen found at Chesterford by the late Lord Braybrooke, and is figured in the *Archæological Journal* vi. 21, and in the Catalogue of the Institute Exhibition at Edinburgh, p. 62. Caylus figures a Roman caltrap (*Recueil* iv., pl. 98). The object used to be thrown upon the ground for the purpose of laming cavalry horses. The Chesters example differs slightly from the wood-cut, the points of the former being barbed, and therefore more effective. One of these objects was found in the ford of Frew, on the river Forth, of late date, 'as it was supposed that it was one of those thrown into the river to injure the horse of the young Chevalier after the battle of Falkirk, when the prince retreated towards the north on January 17th, 1746.' (*Edinbro. Cat.*, 74.)"

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